

Monday May 18 1998

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INTERNATIONAL
NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

Rugby

Triumph for the Toon: Newcastle's other team win top title

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Women

Climbing too high

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Media

Life after Birt: who will be the next Director General?

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President urges waverers to back 'rich life together' □ Campaign for No vote gathers momentum

Clinton pleads with Unionists

John Maith
Ireland Correspondent

PRESIDENT Clinton yesterday pleaded with undecided Unionists to cast aside their doubts about the Good Friday agreement and back it wholeheartedly, as Government worries increased about the gathering momentum of the No campaign ahead of this week's referendum.

One fifth of Unionists have still to make up their minds, and they hold the key to a respectable winning margin. But the vast majority of don't knows have so far been flowing towards the No camp. Voters on both sides of the Irish border decide on Friday.

Mr Clinton, attending the G8 summit with Tony Blair in Birmingham, said the deal safeguarded the principle of consent, sacrosanct to Unionists. Everyone would win if it were endorsed, and he predicted that would mean massive investment into Northern Ireland.

with Tory leader William Hague, repeated his assurance to block Sinn Féin from the power-sharing executive if the IRA fails to demonstrate the war is over for good. The choice facing voters was between fear and hope on one side and hope and reason on the other.

There was no plan-B in the event of defeat. He said political progress so far achieved would be thrown into reverse, a prospect described by his spokesman as "grim". He denied Mr Clinton's intervention might antagonise Unionists as earlier Government initiatives to secure a Yes vote appear to have done.

It admits outright victory is unlikely. Its objective is to secure a majority of Unionists against the deal, which the Government fears could make the proposed institutions unworkable.

Mr Trimble has been forced on the defensive, and his campaign has stuttered. He was jeered with accusations of "Judas" when he visited Portlough and Lurgan in mid-October at the weekend. He is in a fight for his own survival as party leader.

softened us up by its bombing, that David Trimble had conned us by his bluffing, that Bill Clinton and Chancellor Gordon Brown had bought us with their bribery and that world pressure had coerced us by its bullying.

Highbury on a high



Buses carrying Arsenal's triumphant players make their way through a sea of red and white in north London yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN GOWAN

Fans at fever pitch for '98 Gunners salute

200,000 watch victory parade by soccer's double winners

John Duncan
Sports Correspondent

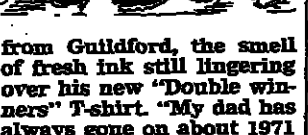
ARSENAL'S bright red flag fluttered over Islington town hall yesterday, and on the steps, pavement, road and balconies nearby 200,000 fans crammed to bask in the sunshine and enjoy the glow of the north London club's finest achievement for 27 years.

Those who had mastered their Sunday morning hangovers after the club clinched the FA Cup and Premier League double at Wembley on Saturday gathered outside Highbury from early in the morning to

await the departure of the traditional open-topped bus. In the end there were two buses, the first team followed by the women's team who won the women's FA Cup and League Cup.

Players, wives and girlfriends left Highbury at 10.40am to drive through the backstreets, with seemingly every terraced house decked with streamers and balloons, entire families hanging precariously out of first-floor windows.

The pavements along the route were a cramped motionless mass of red-and-white. "I didn't drink a drop last night so I would remember this morning better," said Steve Rouse,



from Guildford, the smell of fresh ink still lingering over his new "Double winners" T-shirt. "My dad has always gone on about 1971

and the double team whenever we won anything since and how no Arsenal side would ever be better, but he didn't say anything this morning. He just smiled."

The merchandising operation had begun at the final whistle to supply fans with up to date "double" banners and T-shirts. One vendor — "just call me John" — said that he had been up all night printing T-shirts in anticipation of brisk trade. "I'm Tottenham, myself," he said. "But business is business."

Just after midday the buses reached the town hall on fashionable Upper Street, more normally thronged with New Labour at lunch than New Arsenal on the march. There the team lifted the trophy each in turn to huge applause, the largest cheer reserved

for Dennis Bergkamp, the Dutchman who was unable to play at Wembley through injury but whose goals had carried Arsenal to crushing style to the Premier League title.

Although few could get close enough to see no one seemed to care, with fans on phone boxes, on the top of vans and one group on the wobbling balcony of Islington Plaza Hotel.

However, a sour note remained over Saturday night's celebrations. Police had to deal with a group of 20 thugs who attacked two cars and looted an off-licence, but a number of Arsenal fans yesterday accused the police of insensitivity in inciting trouble among law-abiding fans celebrating in local pubs.

David Lacey, Sport, page 16

Fury at G8's debt 'failure'

Larry Elliott

DEVELOPMENT agencies reacted with barely disguised fury yesterday as the much-heralded package of debt relief for the world's poorest countries from the G8 summit in Birmingham fell well short of expectations.

The Prime Minister, Tony Blair, announced 260 million from Britain to kick-start an international fight against malaria, but the main lobbying groups criticised the West for failing to make debt relief faster and more effective.

Mr Blair accepted at his closing press conference that the communiqué had not gone as far as some — including Britain — would have liked. But he insisted there had been considerable progress in getting more countries involved in the initiative for Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) by 2000.

However, the language in the final communiqué was notably weaker than the terms of the Mauritius Mandate, proposed by the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, at last year's meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers. That had called for three-quarters of the 41 poorest countries to be well on the way to debt relief by the millennium.

The G8 said it supported "the speedy and determined extension of debt relief to more countries" and encouraged all eligible countries to "take the policy measures needed to embark on the process as soon as possible".

However, development groups said this amounted to putting the blame on the poor and would force them to jump through more hoops before they received debt relief.

They were also unhappy with the watered-down commitment to support poor post-conflict countries in Africa, under which the G8 will "consider ways for debt relief mechanisms... to be used to release more and earlier resources for essential rehabilitation".

Ann Pettifor, director of the Jubilee 2000 campaign for debt relief, said: "This is a huge disappointment for the 70,000 people who joined the human chain in Birmingham and the hundreds of millions around the world who suffer under the burden of unpayable debts."

Andrew Simms of Christian Aid said: "It's Groundhog Day for the world's poor. Each year the G8 pitches up promising to give meaningful debt relief to the poorest countries and each year they remain trapped in a world of aid dependency and disaster after disaster."

"It has failed to understand that the target of halving world poverty by the year 2015 can only be met by more realistic debt relief: the kind of debt relief Germany

received after the second world war."

Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, insisted Germany had done its bit, especially as, unlike Britain and France, it had lost its colonies long ago — under the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

"There has not been fair appreciation of our overall efforts on development assistance and debt relief," he said.

"Germany has lived up to its responsibilities."

A spokesman for the World Bank said the demonstrators had probably been expecting too much too fast.

He said the bank was still hoping to meet the terms of the Mauritius Mandate, turn to page 2, column 7

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Joseph Stiglitz, page 11

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Islamabad blames arms race on Western disarray after Indian blasts □ G8 countries no closer on sanctions against New Delhi

Pakistan to test nuclear device

Suzanne Goldenberg
in Islamabad and Ian Black

A NUCLEAR test by Pakistan is inevitable, Islamabad's foreign minister, Gohar Ayub, said yesterday.

"We are going ahead, Inshallah (God willing). The decision has been taken to test," he told the Guardian.

Nervousness about a Pakistani explosion — spurred by United States intelligence reports of preparations at the test site in the Chagai mountain range in Baluchistan — reverberated around the region and beyond to the G8 summit in Birmingham.

The summit ended with

leaders of the world's most powerful countries expressing alarm at developments since nuclear tests in India last week.

And there was no sign last night that the G8 countries were any closer on the question of sanctions, implemented so far by the US and Japan.

President Bill Clinton said it would be "nutty" for either Pakistan or India to choose to become a nuclear power.

Tony Blair said: "The decision by India (to conduct tests) has gravely weakened the security of the entire world."

But he insisted that Western reaction had been appropriate.

"We did not underestimate

in any shape or form the gravity of the decision."

But Mr Ayub put the blame for a new nuclear arms race on the irresolute response of the international community to the five tests conducted by New Delhi last week.

"It's a lukewarm attitude," he said of the G8 condemnations of India. "Three countries, the UK, France, and Russia don't support sanctions, and the rest will all fall apart. The American corporate sector will put pressure on because of their interests in India."

The US senate intelligence committee said yesterday they would let Pakistan have US-built F-16 fighter aircraft if it abandoned the test. Pakistan has paid for the planes but delivery has been blocked for 10 years by a congressional ban aimed at preventing it from developing nuclear weapons.

But Mr Ayub has been dismissive of US inducements not

The US deputy secretary of state, Strobe Talbott, who held talks with the Pakistani prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, said: "They have made quite clear they didn't think

"The answer is not for India to become a nuclear power and then for Pakistan to march it stride for stride, and then for China to be brought in to support the Pakistanis and move troops to the Indian border, and then for Russia to come in and to re-create in a different context the conflicts of the cold war. It is a nutty way to go. It is not the way to chart the future," he said.

Pakistan's emerging hard line has its mirror in Indian intelligence. The Hindu nationalist prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, said New Delhi was no longer pursuing a peaceful nuclear programme.

Supporters of Mr Vajpayee's Bharatiya Janata Party celebrated India's emer-

gence as a nuclear power, declaring Saturday Gaurav Diwas (day of pride).

Amid the flexing of muscles on both sides of a disputed border, there were reports that an Indian newspaper that more than a dozen villagers have complained of nose bleeds, skin and eye irritation, vomiting and stomach

upsets — symptoms suggesting exposure to radiation.

New Delhi claims no radiation was released but local officials say they will ask doctors to examine the villagers.

Meanwhile, Indian government scientists appeared yesterday at a heavily guarded press conference, where they were greeted with applause from journalists.

They released the first pictures of the explosions, and said one of the devices tested last week had an explosive yield of 43 kilotons — twice the force of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Others with yields of less than a kiloton were designed for use with indigenous missiles, including the Agni, which has a range of 1,000 miles and was developed for use against China.

A. P. J. Abdul Kalam, the father of New Delhi's missile programme, said India was ready to start mass production of the missile, and to widen its range. "The project is complete. Agni can be multiplied," he said.

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'We are going ahead, Inshallah [God willing]. The decision has been taken to test'

Gohar Ayub
Pakistani foreign minister

to test. "If the international community can take no action against India then we are forced to test a deterrent. No one can stop us from doing so."

there was any magic wand to be waved."

Mr Clinton acknowledged that the West had not paid the subcontinent enough atten-

tion. "The answer is not for India to become a nuclear power and then for Pakistan to march it stride for stride, and then for China to be brought in to support the Pakistanis and move troops to the Indian border, and then for Russia to come in and to re-create in a different context the conflicts of the cold war. It is a nutty way to go. It is not the way to chart the future," he said.

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Angie Dickinson cries as she leaves the Sinatra mansion

As public mourning for singer continues unabated, relatives squabble over how to manage his \$200m business empire.
Christopher Reed reports



Kirk Douglas was among contemporaries who paid their respects at the star's home

PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN RAMSAY

Family feud mars Sinatra funeral plans

THE funeral of Frank Sinatra was last night caught up in a feud that has split the family for more than 20 years, as both sides prepared for a stately Old Hollywood-style service conducted by a cardinal on Wednesday.

The feud developed as the two factions competed for his loyalty and affection, while squabbling over how to manage his \$200 million business empire.

Two groups of friends and relatives arrived to offer their condolences over the weekend at the separate homes of the singer's widow Barbara Marx and her son by a former marriage, and his first wife Nancy, the mother of his

two daughters Tina and Nancy and his son Frank Sinatra Jr.

Although Sinatra's former cronies have either died or are too old to be familiar to a new generation, an outpouring of respect and admiration flooded the airwaves and the Internet for the man who created mass fan hysteria half a century ago.

Flowers piled up outside the gated mansion in Beverly Hills where he suffered a heart attack and thousands of messages were posted on the Web.

At the mansion, his 70-year-old widow and her son Bobby Marx, a Hollywood lawyer, greeted veteran actors Kirk Douglas and Gregory Peck, both

octogenarians now, Jack Lemmon, 73, TV host Larry King, actress Angie Dickinson, Jeannie Martin, widow of Dean Martin, the singer and member of the Sinatra "rat pack" and Tina Cahn, widow of the late lyricist Sammy Cahn.

Not far away Nancy Sinatra, née Barbato, the bride he married in a Roman Catholic ceremony in 1939, was with daughter Tina and son Frank, while Tina — now the business manager of the Sinatra financial legacy — shuttled between the two homes.

Nancy Sinatra's callers came more from the non-showbiz family friends dating back decades.

Meanwhile, George Schlatter, a friend of Barbara Sinatra's and the television producer who organised the gala presentation for Sinatra's 70th birthday, angrily denied that the stricken star had died because he disconnected a respirator.

The unnamed source for this version apparently came from the anti-Barbara faction. They maintain that his widow was artificially prolonging his life and putting him through unnecessary pain.

Mr Schlatter said this was "utterly untrue". Coroner's records were the official reason given for the 82-year-old singer's death late on Thursday night.

But the suggestion that the star was with his wife Barbara when he was stricken was also disputed. She was actually at dinner with an old family friend who rushed her to the nearby Cedars-Sinai hospital where Sinatra died shortly afterwards.

The invitation-only funeral Mass in Beverly Hills on Wednesday will be conducted by the Cardinal of Los Angeles, Roger Mahony, and the body will be interred at a cemetery near Palm Springs where Sinatra lived for 50 years. He is to be buried in a plot near ones containing the remains of his mother Dolly and father Martin.

As preparations went ahead, a remarkable outpouring of public respect

and affection showed that although Sinatra's generation had long faded from contemporary memory, his voice had not. People young enough to be his grandchildren spoke with awe of his unchallenged place in popular music.

There was hardly any sign in the media of the decades of hostility between Sinatra and the press. Nor were his violent and bullying episodes, in which he bashed waiters over the head and poured drinks down women's bosoms, recalled. His old pal, comedian Don Rickles, once said: "Be like Frank. Hit somebody," but now mistily recalled the good old days of "laughter and fun". So did America.

Man who made the Mirror dies

John Ezard

HUGH CUDLIFF, the prodigious newspaperman who forged a boisterously intelligent tabloid journalism which was superseded by the era of Rupert Murdoch, died yesterday at the age of 84.

Fleet Street's youngest editor at 24, he rose to be chairman of IPC — owners of the Daily Mirror — the paper he took to a daily circulation of 5 million copies in the 1960s. He founded the original Sun newspaper and oversaw its sale to Murdoch in 1969.

Cudlipp, who became Lord Cudlipp of Aidingbourne, died at his home in Chichester, west Sussex. He had been ill with lung cancer.

Mike Molloy, the editor of the Daily Mirror from 1975 to 1985, said Cudlipp was "the most exciting man you could meet in journalism".

"He thought ordinary people should have papers that suited them, that were entertaining and enjoyable."

"But he also believed that people should be informed, and if the issue was important enough, informed with pretty large chunks of information."

"His mission — though he would never have used such a pretentious word as that — was to let people hear the news as simply and clearly as possible. I think that was quite a noble thing to want to do."

Cudlipp's friend and former assistant editor Geoffrey Goodman said: "He was the greatest tabloid journalist. He helped build up the Mirror into what people thought was the most outstanding popular newspaper in the world."

Kevin MacKenzie, former editor of the Sun and now deputy chief executive of Mirror Group, said: "Hugh Cudlipp was simply the greatest

ever exponent of the tabloid art. He took the Mirror to unscaled heights and created the base for today's multi-media company."

Cudlipp's Mirror was legendary for the force with which it thrust a common citizen's viewpoint on sometimes enraged governments. The wartime coalition government considered closing the newspaper after a cartoon showed a torpedoes, dying British seaman with the caption "The price of petrol has been increased by one penny, official".

Churchill sued the paper over a headline run before the 1945 election asking "Whose Finger on the Trigger? A 1945 Suez crisis headline asked: 'When Should Eden Go? Has R.A. Butler (effectively Eden's deputy) Got the Guts. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev was told 'Don't Be So Bloody Rude'."

But some of Cudlipp's associates felt he lost his magic when he grew too eminent and began to believe his legend.

Obituary, page 10



Cudlipp: Fleet Street's youngest editor at 24

Rising star worth a closer look in tale of two girls

Review

Richard Williams

La Vie Révée Des Anges
Cannes Film Festival

IT DOESN'T usually take long for the name of a promising young French film actress to spread beyond their native land. Yet despite her remarkable work in André Téchiné's *Les Roseaux Sauvages*, Yolande Zauberman's *Clubbed To Death* and Gaël

Morel's *A Toute Vitesse*, Elodie Bouchez is not yet generally ranked among the new generation of stars. That could be changed by the reception to her performance in Erick Zouca's *La Vie Révée Des Anges*, which received its premiere in the main competition here yesterday.

Bouchez is not an Adjani or a Bert. Not the knock-you-down type, in other words. She's good at playing girls who seem ordinary until you take a closer look. Here, with roughly cropped hair and a charity shop wardrobe, she plays Isa, a sweet-natured 21-

year-old dropout who drifts from town to town, sometimes begging in the streets. In Lille she meets a boy, but particularly inhospitable in January — she gets the sack on her second day as a sweet shop machinist but teams up with another girl, Marie, who offers her a spare bed in an apartment she's running while its usual occupants, a woman and her teenage daughter, are in hospital after a road accident.

It's soon apparent that, for all their generational and cultural similarities, the two

girls' natures are diametrically divergent. Marie's shy glance disguises a rage against life. Even when she falls for the good-looking boy who runs the local dance club, her lovelorn looks like the angry physical expression of a battle inside herself.

If anyone is likely to deprive Bouchez of the festival's prize, it's likely to be the end of the week, it might just be Natacha Régnier, the virtually unknown young Belgian actress whose narrow, pale, intelligent face reflects Marie's mood and who makes Marie's sudden physi-

cal outbursts distressingly credible. Isa's character, by contrast, only takes shape when she discovers the comatose girl's touching diary and starts paying visits to her bedside. It's as if another person's helplessness has given her a handhold on life.

Prospectively and misleadingly translated as *Angels*, *Dreams*, the film also introduces us to Zouca, a 42-year-old Frenchman with a background in television documentaries. The intimacy of Agnès Godard's camera movements and the fluency of the screenplay (on which the

director collaborated with Roger Bohbot) position the film in the great French tradition of the naturalism, in which the drama emerges from the texture of the characters' lives, rather than vice versa.

For better or worse, Zouca implicates us in the fate of both girls. He makes us care. After the premiere, someone asked him if the film's sense of pessimism reflects the condition of French youth in general. "I hope not," he said. Irrelevant question. The story of Isa and Marie speaks for itself.

Aid agencies attack G8 for failure to boost debt relief

continued from page 1

which were "feasible, desirable and do-able".

Jim Wolfensohn, the president of the World Bank, said: "HIPC is a big step. It reflects the art of the possible. By bringing along the other creditors with a deal they could live with, it has opened up the debt issue."

British officials were aware from the start of the summit that there was a real risk of failing to meet expectations, and were keen throughout to steer the focus away from debt relief.

Briefing notes stressed that

no new initiatives were planned.

Yesterday, attempts were made to deflect criticism of the summit by drawing attention to Britain becoming the first G8 country to back financially the World Health Organisation's Roll Back Malaria campaign.

"Now is the time for the world to act to fight this terrible disease which afflicts the developing world so greatly," said the International Development Secretary, Clare Short. "I am proud Britain has taken the lead in devoting more resources to its eradication."

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Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including "Silence continu" and other fragments.

FO officials in spotlight over Sierra Leone arms

Richard Norton-Taylor

AN INDEPENDENT inquiry into the Foreign Office handling of the arms to Sierra Leone controversy will question officials this week after today's expected decision by Customs and Excise not to prosecute Sandline, the mercenary company at the centre of the affair.

Robin Cook has promised the inquiry will have access to all FO papers relevant to the affair. He is considering appointing Sir Thomas Legg, former permanent secretary at the Lord Chancellor's Department, to conduct it.

The Foreign Secretary has said the inquiry report will be published, although internal FO documents will not be. The paperwork in the FO on the affair is said to amount to a pile little more than three inches high. FO officials want the inquiry to be completed as speedily as possible.

Although Customs has discovered evidence of alleged UN sanctions busting, Valerie Strachan, chairman of Customs and Excise, will not make a final decision until she receives advice from John Morris, the Attorney General, about the prospects of a successful prosecution should a trial go ahead.

Sandline, run by Lt Col Tim Spicer, a former Guards officer, insists its supply of arms and military advice to Nigerian-led Ecomog forces which restored the democratically-elected President Kabbah to power in Sierra Leone was done "quite openly and with the full prior knowledge and approval of her Majesty's Government".

Whitehall says the mercenary company is relying on the "Matrux Churchill defence" — a reference to the humiliating collapse of the trial of three company directors who argued that the Thatcher Government knew they were supplying arms-related equipment to Iraq. Mrs Strachan was involved in the Scott inquiry which followed.

Meanwhile, George Robertson, the Defence Secretary, has insisted that the frigates HMS Cornwall and HMS Monmouth played a role in the overthrow of the military junta. He has told the Commons defence committee that their role was to provide humanitarian relief following the restoration of President Kabbah's government.

He said the decision to repair a helicopter crewed by Sandline was taken by HMS Cornwall.

American firm plans to market Diana doll in minesweeping kit

Luke Harding

THE Diana industry plumed new depths of tackiness last night following the revelation that an American company is planning to mass produce a Diana "minesweeping" doll.

The doll will be dressed in the outfit worn by the late princess during her visit to Angola last year, when she was campaigning to ban landmines. Alicia Mundy, who has been tracking the explosion in Diana memorabilia for the US magazine *Ad* Week said: "This is awful. Diana is not a plaything."

The doll is being manufactured without the approval of the Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund, which is already under attack for approving the use of her logo on bits of merchandise. That decision is defended by Anthony Julius, chairman of the trustees, in a BBC1 Panorama programme tonight. But it is attacked by fellow trustee Vivienne Parry, who admits: "We got it wrong."

All future commercial arrangements have been put off until the fund's new chief executive, Andrew Purkis, arrives in June. Last night he hinted that the fund

should continue indefinitely, despite the call by Diana's brother, Earl Spencer, for the fund to be wound up.

Stephen Lee, director of the Institute of Fund Raising Managers, yesterday criticised the fund for giving too little money to charity.

● The Queen is to allow TV coverage of investiture and knighthood ceremonies. Buckingham Palace said yesterday. TV cameras will also be admitted to the state banquet for Emperor Akihito of Japan this month.

Marketing Diana: Advert in an American magazine

John Ezard on a blow by blow account of the machinations that led to the international committee's greatest failure — to not speak out on the Nazi horror camps



Nazi horror... Children in a concentration camp, and, above left, the German organisation's logo linking the Red Cross with the Swastika

Silence and lies over the Holocaust continue to haunt the Red Cross

NOT until the autumn of 1944 did the monthly review of the International Committee of the Red Cross mention the Holocaust — the Nazi German concentration camps in which 11 million Jews and others were then being exterminated.

By then it was a face-saving useless reference. The first of the camps was about to be liberated by appalled Allied soldiers. Their existence had long been known. And the Red Cross's public silence about them, its failure for nearly a decade to rally opinion or condemn, was "its greatest failure".

These are the words of a book, *Dumant's Dream: war, Switzerland and the history of the Red Cross*, due out on May 25, which exposes the dimensions and disgrace of that failure on the part of an in-scrutable private agency with 250 million members worldwide and 137 national societies. The Red Cross has been revered as the closest thing to an angel of mercy which the war-ravaged modern world has produced.

The book — by Caroline Moorehead, who was granted access as a writer of distinction — draws in immense detail on minutes and closed archives in Geneva.

It reveals the crucial, morally evasive but sometimes anguished meeting on October 14, 1942 at which the ICRC resolved on its policy of silence. Yet its most astonishing revelation is that Carl Jacob Burckhardt, the committee's dominant wartime member, had seen the horrors of a concentration camp as early as 1935 (four years before the war) and visited Dachau in 1936. He kept silent about both experiences till long after the war — and then lied about them.

In 1936, after disturbing reports from Germany, Burckhardt was allowed to inspect four camps. First he dined

with Reinhard Heydrich, the Gestapo deputy chief running them. Burckhardt noticed Heydrich's hands. "Ily white, Pre-Raphaelite, made for slow strangulation".

At the supposedly model Esterwegen camp near the Dutch border, prisoners told him they were treated "like dogs". He was shocked to find one inmate, the Nobel Peace Prize winner Karl Ossietzky, battered and barely alive. Ossietzky asked Burckhardt to tell his friends he was near death. Then "he gave a small bow and turned away".

Burckhardt presented his actions after this visit as a model of discreet, effective Red Cross intercession. He complained privately to Heydrich and to Hitler. In response, he wrote in a 1960 memoir, he was told Ossietzky had been treated in hospital — where he died. The camp commandant, Loritz, had been "transferred, some said as a prisoner, to another concentration camp".

But Burckhardt was lying. Ms Moorehead says. Loritz was in fact promoted to run hospital — where he died. The camp commandant, Loritz, had been "transferred, some said as a prisoner, to another concentration camp".

In contrast, Burckhardt wrote to Hitler praising the "joyous spirit of co-operation" he found during his visit. Why did he lie about Loritz? Because, Ms Moorehead says, he was by 1960 "correcting his image for history". She adds: "It was at this moment that the committee began to store up problems which would later so come to haunt them."

The 1942 ICRC meeting was held eight months after Hitler's secret conference enjoining the "final solution of the Jewish problem". It marshalled 23 committee members — all Swiss — at the Metropole Hotel, Geneva.

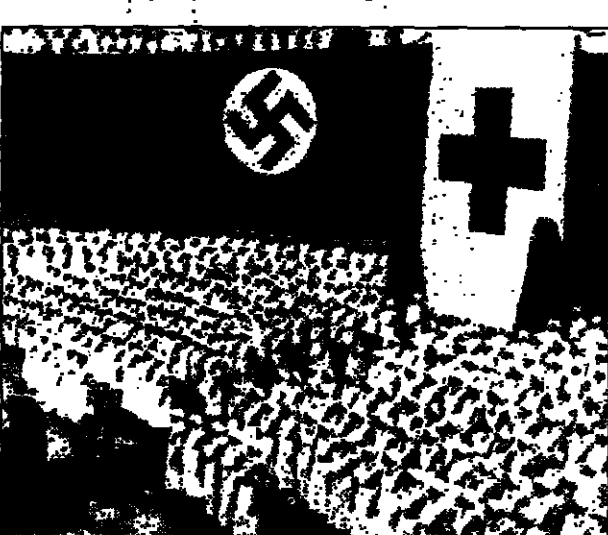
By then, evidence of Jewish



Carl Jacob Burckhardt, right, on a prison camp visit in Germany, and below, a gathering of Red Cross nurses with the international symbol of mercy alongside the Swastika

'The failure to speak out — to take the high moral ground in a way that is seldom offered to any organisation — has haunted it'

deportations was incontrovertible. The issue was whether the ICRC — as the only moral force left in the world apart from the Vatican



— should speak out.

One committee member, the Swiss president, Philippe Etter, was already tainted. Two months earlier, he had

signed a now notorious decree virtually banning all Jewish refugees from sanctuary in Switzerland.

One anxiety voiced was

that an ICRC declaration could enrage Hitler into invading Switzerland (which paid 55 per cent of its budget). Another was an old, agonised but so far historically effective principle: that the neutral Red Cross should "guard itself against political questions as against fire". If it spoke out, it might undermine the Geneva Convention, imperilling the war's millions of military prisoners.

But before the meeting virtually all members had wanted action. After discussion, 13 members still wanted a public appeal, with eight against.

This militancy was adroitly quashed by Etter. Burckhardt and the manipulative diplomat who chaired the session, Edouard Chapuisat.

Burckhardt spoke for continued "work behind the scenes". Etter asked: "Surely the good Samaritan was a man who broke his silence only by his actions?"

Chapuisat summed up by saying "everyone" appeared to favour behind-the-scenes work. And nobody dissented from this summary, although a woman member protested afterwards that the committee was abandoning its values.

Ms Moorehead's verdict 56 years later is terse. No protest could have slowed the Holocaust. But prisoners of war would not have been affected: Germany needed their food parcels. Switzerland would not have been invaded.

The meeting at the Metropole was "a true moment of reckoning. The committee's failure to speak out — to take the high moral ground in a way that is seldom offered to any individual or any organisation — has haunted it."

Dumant's Dream: war, Switzerland and the history of the Red Cross (HarperCollins, £24.99)

Leader comment, page 9

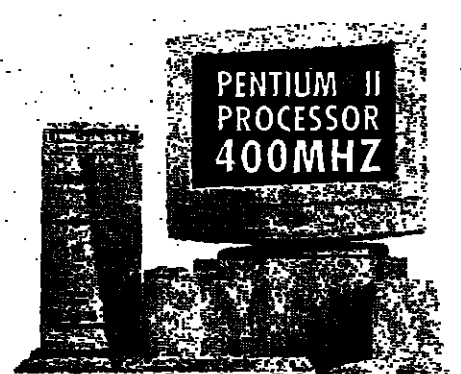
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DELL

Health care holidays



Camilla Cleeton, an emergency patient for four days in an Orlando hospital. 'If I fell seriously ill I'd go back. The treatment was second to none' PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SPENCER

Orlando offers Britons new hip and Disney ride

Rory Carroll previews autumn advertising campaign in UK to fill hospital beds in Florida

It is a holiday package to die for: arrive to a sun-drenched welcome, hobble into luxurious accommodation, have your hip replaced, bounce out, kiss Mickey Mouse and go on a rollercoaster. It is called medical tourism, and Orlando in Florida aims to be the world leader, starting with the conquest of Britain.

Orange County officials and local hospitals are convinced they can fill beds by persuading ill Britons, and their insurers, to pay American doctors for treatments including surgery, bone marrow transplants, chemotherapy, physiotherapy and gynaecology. Business executives are offered a "corporate wellness" programme.

Patients — termed "international guests" — are encouraged to recuperate with trips to Disney World, Universal Studios and Sea World, though cardiac cases are warned against rollercoasters.

The Orlando Regional Healthcare System, which undercuts hotels by offering two-bedroom apartments at \$100 a night, plans an autumn advertising

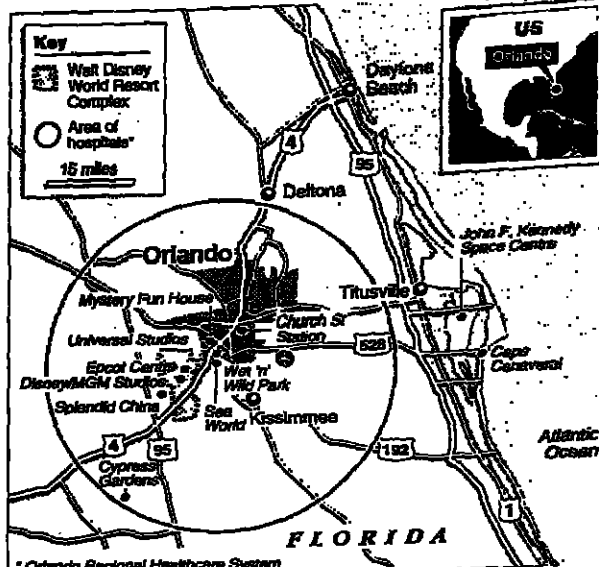
blitz in Britain. Allan Jones, its director of international business, claimed that the 50 patients who crossed the Atlantic last year, before the service was advertised, would become thousands.

"They come because they've heard we're good, because they don't have to wait and because it can work out cheaper," he said. "If the pound stays strong it'll be even better." Soaking up sunshine and giving the family a holiday was an added incentive.

The company hopes its profile will be raised by last November's 12-year deal with the British Olympic Association to provide health care and administration for athletes during warm weather training.

ORHS is considering setting up contracts with British Airways, Virgin and charter airlines so that travel costs are included in hospital bills. Since foreigners were first sought two years ago, company representatives have met patients at Orlando airport and escorted them to seven hospitals with 1,500 beds between them.

Success with South Amer-



Orlando Regional Healthcare System

icans has persuaded the company to expand into Europe, starting with the UK. The annual 1.5 million British visitors and swelling expatriate community would, said Mr Jones, spread word of the hospital's state-of-the-art facilities.

Camilla Cleeton, aged 26, of Lincolnshire, spent four days in the Orlando regional health authority hospital after breaking her pelvis in a riding accident in January.

"If I ever fell seriously ill I'd go back, assuming I could afford to. The treat-

ment was second to none; it really showed up the difference in English hospitals. You're seen very quickly. There's a lot more people tending to you, you've more privacy, more room."

So far elective patients — as distinct from tourists seeking emergency treatment — have been well heeled but not super-rich, said Mr Jones. "Once the insurance company agrees, anyone can go."

America's notoriously costly health care could undercut Britain's in certain treatments, such as hip replacements, he said. "In the last six months I've become aware of people going to India for operations. Costs there are very low, and they have good doctors practising mainstream medicine."

Pioneering eye surgery in Russia and cheap orthopaedic treatments in north-west France have also attracted a trickle of Britons, reversing a 30-year-old trend of foreigners seeking treatment in the UK.

Aslef may seek to block leftwinger

Keith Harper
Transport Editor

A LEGAL challenge to the election of the Scargillite party member Dave Rix as general secretary of the train drivers' union, Aslef, is being considered by the union's leaders, it emerged last night.

The union's executive will this week receive a report on whether Mr Rix, a member of Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party, broke the rules governing the election when he defeated the present general secretary, Lew Adams, by 1,500 votes.

The inquiry, by Aslef's deputy general secretary, Tony West, is centring on whether Mr Rix was on sick leave for part of his campaign. The rules are strict and give candidates little time off to campaign.

Mr West is also looking at whether Mr Rix's election addresses breach union rules.

Mr Rix's employer, Regional Railways North East, denies that he was given leave of absence to fight the campaign for three months.

The inquiry places the Aslef executive in a difficult position. As the union's govern-



Lew Adams... ousted by 1,500 votes

ing body it would have to mount a legal challenge but would then have to work with Mr Rix if it were unsuccessful.

Mr Adams is making no comment about the inquiry and is expected to remain in his post to see the union through its annual conference and the TUC and Labour Party conferences this year. Mr Rix is due to assume the leadership in January.

Mr Adams has been Aslef's leader for five years, taking it

through privatisation. Drivers' pay has almost doubled in that time and hours of work have been reduced from 39 to 37 a week.

The campaign was one of the most bitter in the trade union movement for many years. Mr Adams failed to win the first ballot by 300 votes. In the second Mr Rix secured a surprise victory by picking up votes originally given to the four other candidates.

His election has upset the Labour Party leadership and could affect its attitude towards re-nationalising the railway industry, which will be a key issue at the party conference in the autumn.

It is also seen by some in Aslef as a reaction to the macho management style of a number of rail companies, which could see industrial unrest grow in the next year.

The other main union in the industry, the Rail, Maritime and Transport Union, is also facing an election at the top. Jimmy Knapp, its general secretary for 15 years, would like to stand down but is being pressed by some colleagues to stand again to keep out any leftwing candidates and reduce the likelihood of the rail unions becoming the most militant in the country.

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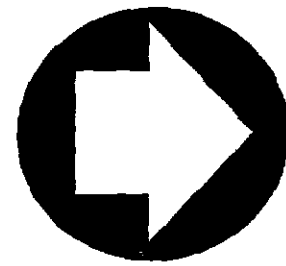
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I'm always banging on about death and everything. But that's because I'm a comedian and I'm hanging about at home with too much time on my hands, so what else do you think about?
Ardal O'Hanlon

G2 p4

سكان الامل

Thousands join protest against poverty

Chain gangs: Teaming up to demand an end to unpayable Third World debt, Jubilee 2000 Coalition members link hands, while bright a father and son, outside the Japanese delegates' hotel, focus on the suffering endured by children

PHOTOGRAPHS: LOUISA SALLER, SANG TAN



50,000 shout for debt to be ended

Luke Harding in Birmingham hears the call for a fair deal for poor countries



World leaders bask in summit glow

Ian Black, Diplomatic Editor

TONY Blair and Bill Clinton gave a rousing chorus of All You Need is Love at their final G8 bash on Saturday night, but the slumped summit needed more than that to convince doubters that the talkfest was the success it was cracked up to be. With disappointed campaigners complaining little progress had been made on Third World debt relief and environmentalists calling the summit "not much greener than an oil slick", the leaders last night left a dazed Birmingham to recover from their three-day stay.

"It worked a lot better than in previous years — a slightly different format," Mr Blair insisted at his final press conference. "Summit for everyone," quipped one upbeat Foreign Office official, though in fact the distractions of Indian nuclear testing, the Northern Ireland referendum and the violence in Indonesia were all unintentional.

Mr Blair's big three themes of employability, international crime and Asia's devastating economic crisis still dominated the final communiqué, a crisp 10 pages compared to the 20 or more that horrified him in Denver last year.

Birmingham at least avoided the worst of the verbosity that often goes with big summits, and there was a welcome novelty in a substantial section on combating drugs trafficking and other aspects of transnational crime.

"Organised crime is a global threat and we in the G8 will not stand idly by while it continues to grow," Mr Blair pledged. "We will begin immediate practical measures to start the fight

Main points

- Call for sustainable economic growth
- Enable developing world to integrate better into global economy and benefit from globalisation
- Reform of global financial architecture to prevent recurrence of crisis
- Ease debt relief for post-conflict countries
- Support measures to increase job creation and build inclusive society
- Call for action on international crime and money-laundering
- Joint action to co-ordinate fight against millennium bug
- Implement Kyoto agreement on climate change
- Condemnation of India's nuclear tests
- Concern about Middle East peace stalemate

back against the evil trade in human beings and drugs and the hi-tech fraud that threatens all our economies."

To underline these concerns the eight leaders, joined by Jacques Saurter of the European Commission, heard from Roy Penrose, the head of Britain's National Crime Squad, who warned them that the world was "on the threshold of a hi-tech crime boom".

Calling for higher levels of co-operation between governments and more resources for international policing, Mr Penrose demanded that there should be no "no-go areas". Criminal activity was costing the developed world two per cent of GNP and the developing world seven times that figure, he said.

"The central problem that we face is that criminals and technology do not recognise our national borders, yet the tools we have to fight them must inevitably be centred on



Tony Blair with Bill Clinton. The US president was due to visit Chequers after the conference. PHOTOGRAPH: ADAM BUTLER

national jurisdictions. International co-operation is clearly essential."

Mr Blair's view that separating the "heads" summit from that of their foreign and finance ministers, who met in London last weekend was endorsed by the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl. "The reduction in the huge numbers of staff who used to follow us around has yielded good results," he said. "It has made our work more efficient

and streamlined." Japan's Ryutaro Hashimoto agreed. But there is trouble brewing over the summit in the year 2000 with Boris Yeltsin, the newcomer to the expanded format, itching to play host. Mr Hashimoto ducked the question diplomatically but thought it unlikely that Italy and Canada — due to follow Japan — would let Mr Yeltsin jump the queue.

Mr Yeltsin, ebullient throughout, was given a parting gift of talking teletubbies to give to his grandchildren. He met Mr Clinton as the others were leaving and glowed as the American president gave him his own summit lapel badge.

"It gives you a little bit of the flavour of the easy-going informality that once again characterised their meeting," a senior US official said. But Tony Juniper of Friends of the Earth was in less effusive mood: "This

summit has achieved little or nothing for the world's environment," he said.

"Eight leaders have driven round the country in large polluting cars, pausing only for forced photo opportunities and breakfast with Sir David Frost. Even the free media lunches were served in environmentally unfriendly plastic boxes."

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Fears of economic crash shrugged off as countries plan 'millennium bug' meeting

THE G8 countries are to hold a conference on the Millennium Bug this year in an attempt to prevent a failure in global computer networks from triggering fresh financial crises in the world economy, writes Larry Elliott.

With the international economy still reeling from the Asian crash, a meeting in Moscow will co-ordinate the

action plans of the West's leading nations.

The communiqué at the end of the summit said the bug presented "challenges to the international community, with vast implications ... in the defence, transport, telecommunications, energy and environmental sectors".

After the leaders had a special session on the com-

puter virus yesterday morning, Tony Blair, the Prime Minister, said it was "vitaly important to get the right international action".

Although the final communiqué shrugged off the possibility that the world economy could be heading for a crash, there were signs that the G8 remains nervous of further trouble in Asia. Mr Blair said

summit leaders wanted to pay tribute to China for its commitment to financial stability — a thinly-veiled plea to Beijing to maintain its opposition to a currency devaluation.

The West fears a sharp fall in the yuan could have a domino effect through the smaller Asian economies to Japan, North America and Europe. The communiqué insisted

global economic prospects remained good. "However, since we last met, the prospects have been temporarily set back by the financial crisis in Asia."

Mr Blair said the reforms to the global financial architecture — including new codes of good practice — would help to make the financial markets more stable. He also drew at-

tention to the summit's emphasis on employability, which stressed that the challenge for the West was "how to reap the benefits of rapid technological change and economic globalisation whilst ensuring that all our citizens share in these benefits by increasing growth and job creation, and building an inclusive society".

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The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

IN THE grassy courtyard of Birmingham's St Philip's Cathedral, Steve Summers was holding aloft a giant penumbral candle, hired for the day from Northampton repertory theatre. Like thousands of others, he had come to Birmingham to form part of a giant human chain across the city.

"We thought the candle had a certain resonance," James Linell, his friend, explained. "You know — hot countries and debt."

Mr Linell was wearing a large, home-made sack. "My sack represents poverty," he said. "I was in Malawi last week and I was horrified to find I got 48 kwacha to the pound — 70 per cent more than last year. I thought, do we have no mercy for these people?"

Mr Linell and Mr Summers were protesting about international debt, along with 50,000 others who, from early Saturday morning on, had camped out on Birmingham's streets. There were Christian groups, bishops, babies in rucksacks, two nuns who had joined the human chain outside the Hogshead Tavern, students, pensioners and middle-aged hippies. The Indian Workers Association of Derby was there; so too was the Rev Jeni Parsons, who had paddled 27 miles in a coracle along a Birmingham canal. Even Muhammad Ali sent a fax.

The only notable truants were Tony Blair and his colleagues at the nearby G8 summit. Early on Saturday morning, their presidential motorcades left the city centre and headed off down the M6 for Weston Park, a 17th century country retreat owned by Lord and Lady Bradford.

Across the indebted developing world, large numbers of people had another day of misery. The G8 wives, meanwhile, led by Cherie Blair, put their feet up in the sun at Chequers.

"It's quite pathetic they are not here," said Chris Russell, a demonstrator from Oxford University. "Tony Blair should be here. He should at least give the impression he is listening."

The plan to encircle Birmingham's International Conference Centre, the venue of the summit, went ahead anyway though, in the end, the human chain was not a circle but more of a wonky parallelogram.

The crowds threaded their way for six miles along the Bull Ring, past the Cathedral Tavern, and Hippodrome Theatre, and back to the Rotunda. The chain passed Birmingham's Museum and Art gallery — where on Friday night the G8 leaders enjoyed a banquet of guinea fowl and vintage cognac — and wiggled its way around the canal-side pub where Bill Clinton popped in for a £1.90 pint of Greenall's.

The demonstrators' plan was for everybody to link

hands at 8pm and make a noise for two minutes. The noise went on for rather longer. A gigantic wave of sound wallowed its way around the city, church bells rang, people clapped and howled. The young blew kazoo, the disabled shook rattles, and bus drivers honked their horns.

Clare Short, the International Development Secretary, said: "This demonstrates an end to the selfishness and greed of the 1980s and early 1990s." The protesters from Jubilee 2000, an umbrella organisation of church groups, trade unions and charities, agreed. At Weston Park, there was silence save for the birds twittering.

"Until something is done about it, the debt will continue to grow," said Brian Joyce, from Widnes in Cheshire. In a wonderfully suburban gesture, Mr Joyce had made himself a chain using ornamental garden links.

In a last-minute about-turn, Tony Blair agreed to meet a protesters' delegation at the Hyatt Hotel on his return from the country. Their message to him was simple: that the G8 nations should cancel the unpayable debt of the

"It is a whole lot of nothing. Most people here are not interested in small-scale debt reduction. They want something more radical"

world's poorest nations by 2000. "I can assure you all leaders here fully share your concern," he said.

Later that night it emerged that Germany and Japan had held out against the debt cancellation plans. The G8 leaders had agreed to push forward an initiative to bring 20 countries into the debt reduction process by 2000. This left aid agencies bitterly frustrated, and represented a retreat from a position agreed by finance ministers last week.

"It is a whole lot of nothing," said Fiona Fox of Cardiff. "Most people are here are not interested in small-scale debt reduction. They want something more radical."

Pram Singh, of Derby's Indian Workers' Association, said: "The debt is an issue of great importance to us. We believe debt is due to ruthless exploitation by the so-called G8 countries. They should straight away cancel the debt." He and many others agreed that they would carry on forming chains until the debt was wiped out.



Members of Reclaim the Streets confront riot police in Birmingham on Saturday, in a protest at the takeover of roads by motor traffic, timed to coincide with the summit

6 WORLD NEWS

Lebed wind from Siberia strikes chill in Kremlin

James Meek in Moscow

ALEXANDER Lebed, the former general who believes destiny has chosen him to save Russia, looked like taking his first big step towards the Kremlin yesterday as early reports predicted a landslide for him in elections for governor of the rich, strategic Siberian region of Krasnoyarsk.

It was one of the most bizarre, expensive and hard-fought campaigns in Russia's short democratic history, pitting the 48-year-old airborne forces veteran over the establishment-backed incumbent, Valery Zubov.

A Lebed victory would severely alarm the establishment and provide a secure rear base from which the general could launch an assault on the Kremlin in presidential elections in 2000. And it would confirm a cardinal shift in the disaffected, anti-establishment vote away from traditional communists towards the neo-Gaullist solutions of patriots such as General Lebed and the mayor of Moscow, Yuri Luzhkov.

Gen Lebed, a southern Russian who has never lived in Siberia, campaigned the length and breadth of Krasnoyarsk territory to overcome the suspicions of the tough, cynical electorate. On Friday

get involved in a fight, I don't think about defeat," he told the Guardian at one stop.

Behind the general's homely style was a group of powerful backers, leading many to question just what commitments he made in exchange for support.

Among them was the outspoken tycoon — and now secretary of the Commonwealth of Independent States — Boris Berezovsky, Vladimir Gusinsky, a media magnate, and Anatoly "The Ox" Bykov, a banker said to be one of the largest shareholders in Krasnoyarsk's scandal-plagued aluminium plant.

At one point the former star of Zorro, the wrinkled French heartthrob Alain Delon — huge in Russia — flew to Krasnoyarsk in a private jet to support his "friend" Gen Lebed.

Mr Zubov, a quiet, apolitical academic who counted heavily on the assumed support of a far-off President Boris Yeltsin, struggled to fight back.

Last week the ageing diva of Russia's campy Europop scene, Alla Pugachova, bounced grumpily into Siberia with a brief to give the incumbent some showbiz credibility. Unfortunately, she revealed that she simply adored Gen Lebed.

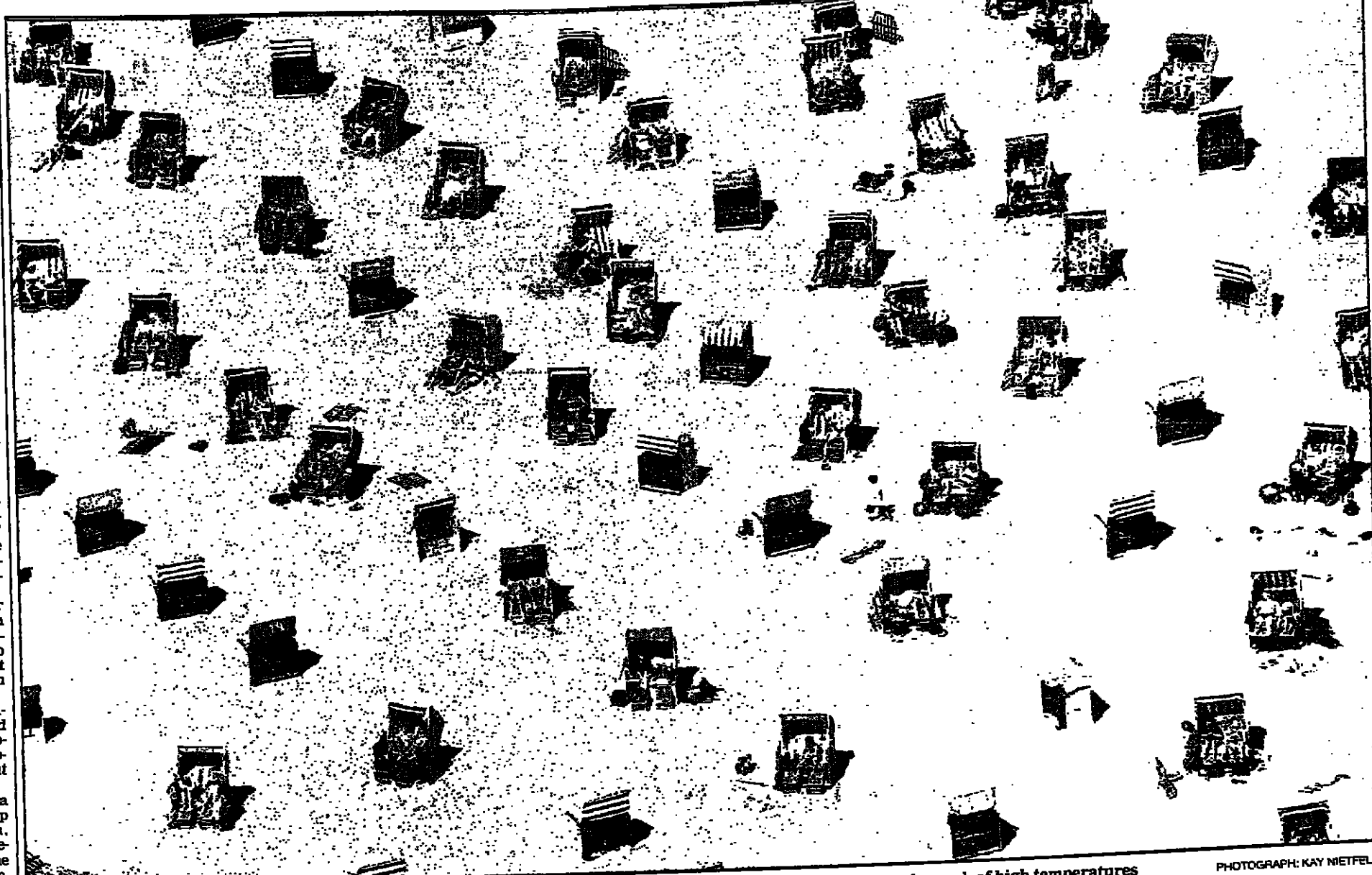
"Lebed is a bright star, just a wonderful person," she said. "There is too little space here for a man like him."

The general's reputation as an authoritarian, who values obedience rather than intelligence in subordinates, is both his strength and his weakness. He has yet to persuade the country's liberals that he is anything more than an ignorant, chauvinist martinet with an alarming choice of friends. The darkest cloud over him remains his alliance with Mr Yeltsin's disgraced former bodyguard, the unashamedly anti-democratic intriguer Alexander Korzhakov.

Among his supporters he is seen as a patriotic man of action, who did something to try to save the Soviet Union and Russia rather than crying over it. An army officer for 26 years, he has managed to define his Soviet tours in Afghanistan, the Caucasus and the Baltics as paradises of selfless service to the motherland by an honest soldier angrily but dutifully carrying out the orders of Politburo fools.

He won national gratitude in 1996 when, as the president's security council secretary, he extracted Russia from the unwinnable war in Chechnya. But during his time in uniform he never took on the sort of political task involving backroom wheeler-dealing, alliance-forming, persuasion and playing groups off against each other of which Mr Yeltsin remains the master.

German beach life



Holidaymakers pitch their deckchairs to catch the sun at the northern beach of Travemünde, as Germany has enjoyed a week of high temperatures

PHOTOGRAPH: KAY NITFELD

French unions eye World Cup of cash

Jon Henley in Paris on fears that strikers are poised to hold football's holy grail to ransom

SOMETIME between June 22 and June 26, the several thousand England football fans lucky enough to have World Cup tickets will need to get from Toulouse, in the deep south-west of France, to Lens, 600 miles north, near the Belgian border.

At roughly the same time, hordes of Germans will be travelling from Lens to Montpellier in the far south. The Dutch will be moving from Marseille to Saint-Etienne. Brazilians will be trekking the 700 miles from Nantes to Marseille, and half of France will be following Les Bleus from Paris to Lyon.

It does not take a strike-happy trade unionist with a grievance to realise the exceptional opportunity this represents for high-profile chaos: a month-long tournament staged in 10 different cities around the country, 2.5 million ticket-holders, an unknown number of ticketless fellow travellers, and a television audience of 37 billion.

Unfortunately for football fans, France has a lot of disgruntled trade unionists. With three weeks left before kick-off, they are threatening to reduce the global soccer event to a monumental shambles.

"No one wants the World Cup to be disrupted by industrial action," said Bernard Thibault of the Communist-led CGT union last week, as a one-day walkout by train drivers brought the rail network to a near standstill and caused 150 miles of traffic jams around Paris alone.

"But having said that, once the World Cup gets under way, no one can guarantee that there won't be a reason to strike," especially if the state railway company, SNCF, does not soon begin negotiations on raising wages, hiring 30,000 new workers and introducing a 35-hour working week.

Most estimates suggest that about 40 per cent of individual football supporters will use the state rail

system. In addition, SNCF has already sold some 200,000 tickets to tour groups.

If the train is derailed, the car may look the next best bet. But unless road haulage firms agree to raise their basic wages to £5.60 an hour, militant French lorry drivers — who have happily paralysed the country twice in the past two years — are gearing up

for a repeat performance.

"We will use any means at our disposal to get what we want," Roger Poletti of the Force Ouvrière union said on Saturday, promising an "Operation Escargot" that would bring motorway traffic to a halt in the second half of May or early June. He refused to rule out further action during the Cup itself.

A six-day truckers' strike last November saw more than 170 blockades on main roads. Petrol stations had to close for lack of fuel, and shops in many parts of

France ran out of fresh goods.

Desperate fans turning to the air could be out of luck, too. The pilots' union, SNPL, is prepared for a "long, hard conflict" in June if Air France does not amend plans to cut pilots' salaries — currently 40 per cent higher than those at Lufthansa, and 20 per cent more than at British Airways — by 15 per cent.

And even a helpful policeman may be hard to find. Their main union, SGP, last week demanded a hefty pay rise for officers stationed

near the brand-new Stade de France outside Paris — where nine World Cup matches, including the final, are due to be staged — in view of the extra workload.

France's Socialist-led government, desperate not to see the most prestigious sporting event the country has staged for decades wrecked — and France publicised round the globe as economically shambolic — has appealed for calm.

"We call on all unions to display a sense of responsibility and not damage the reputation of France at a time when the whole world will be looking at us," said a transport ministry spokeswoman. But it does not intend to suppress the constitutional right to strike.

Last December a tram strike in Marseille forced local authorities to charter coaches to take guests to the World Cup draw ceremony, and a month later train drivers on lines to the Stade de France — almost inaccessible by car — called a walkout for the day the stadium was due to be inaugurated. It may be a long, hot World Cup.



Threats of transport disruption for World Cup fans in June have revived memories of lorry blockades like this one in France last November

PHOTOGRAPH: PHILIPPE DESMAZES

Irish buy time for European duty-free

Martin Walker in Brussels

DUTY-FREE shopping in Europe, apparently doomed by the determination of the European Commission to abolish it, now has a strong chance of a reprieve when European finance ministers gather in Brussels tomorrow.

The Irish government, which claims that it faces the loss of 2,000 jobs and much higher airline and ferry costs without duty-free sales, is calling for an economic and social impact review of the decision.

Germany is also leaning towards supporting a business worth £3 billion a year in the European Union. With difficult elections looming this year, Chancellor Helmut Kohl is not keen on offending the 8 million Germans who buy duty-free goods on jaunts to Denmark and the Netherlands.

The Transport Secretary, John Prescott, is inclined to back the populist case favouring duty-free shopping.

But tomorrow's meeting of finance ministers will be chaired by Chancellor Gordon Brown, thanks to Britain's current tenure of the EU presidency. This means he is supposed to act as honest broker rather than as advocate.

The Commission maintains, with logic, that with boundaries almost abolished within Europe there is no reason to continue the duty-free trade. It also notes that United States airports, where there is no duty-free trade, have become tantamount to shopping malls, suggesting

that the supposed impact on employment would soon be taken up by new bars, books and clothes shops, and fast-food joints.

The Commission also suggests that the trade comes close to fraud against the public, charging whatever the local market will bear so that prices for alcohol on Channel ferries can be higher than the supermarket price in Belgium or Luxembourg.

The well-funded and vocal lobby run by Europe's duty-free industry has picked its advocates with care, including the son of Northern Ireland's popular SDLP Member of the European Parliament, John Hume. The lobby maintains that as many as 127,000 jobs are at risk, 90 per cent of them within the first two years after abolition of the system.

The impact on coastal areas such as Dover, Calais and the Baltic ports, it says, would be harsh enough to require EU funding for newly deprived regions.

Britain, which accounts for about 14 per cent of the EU's GDP, claims a 24 per cent share of the duty-free trade.

The Commission had assumed that the decision to abolish duty-free was final, having gone through so many of the EU's labyrinthine procedures that only an unlikely unanimous vote by the 15-member Council of Ministers could reopen it. Not so. By the tactic of calling for an "impact statement", the Irish government has found a new way into the issue, which could delay matters at least until after the German elections.

One person looking after the environment won't make much of an impact



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Comment

e-mail

Julian Borger
@Tehran

IT WAS one of those comfortable, confident voices all airline pilots seem to possess: "This is the captain speaking. Thank you for flying Iran Air." But on this flight from Tehran to the south-west corner of Iran, the captain wanted to talk about something else, and one by one the passengers looked up to listen. He was delivering a sermon on liberty.

"We're at the beginning of a new period. A new period of freedom, and we must all practise freedom, because we are just starting. We have had many kings and dictators. We've even had Islamic caliphs who were tyrants," the captain said, the last line drawing a gasp from economy class.

"So we are learning to respect each other, and I hope we will go in the right direction to make things better and get real freedom. The God-given freedom which is our natural right."

As he spoke, Iran was slipping by beneath us: the vast salt pans and the southern foothills with villages etched into the corners of their narrow green valleys. Some passengers became visibly moved, and a few began a heated discussion about the airborne sermon. The flight attendant simply rolled her eyes. She'd heard it all before — presumably when she last flew with the philosopher.

Almost everyone seems to be talking about freedom in Iran now. Since Mohammed Khatami, the moderate cleric, came to power a year ago, the press has been let off its leash a bit. There are even cartoons satirising the mullahs.

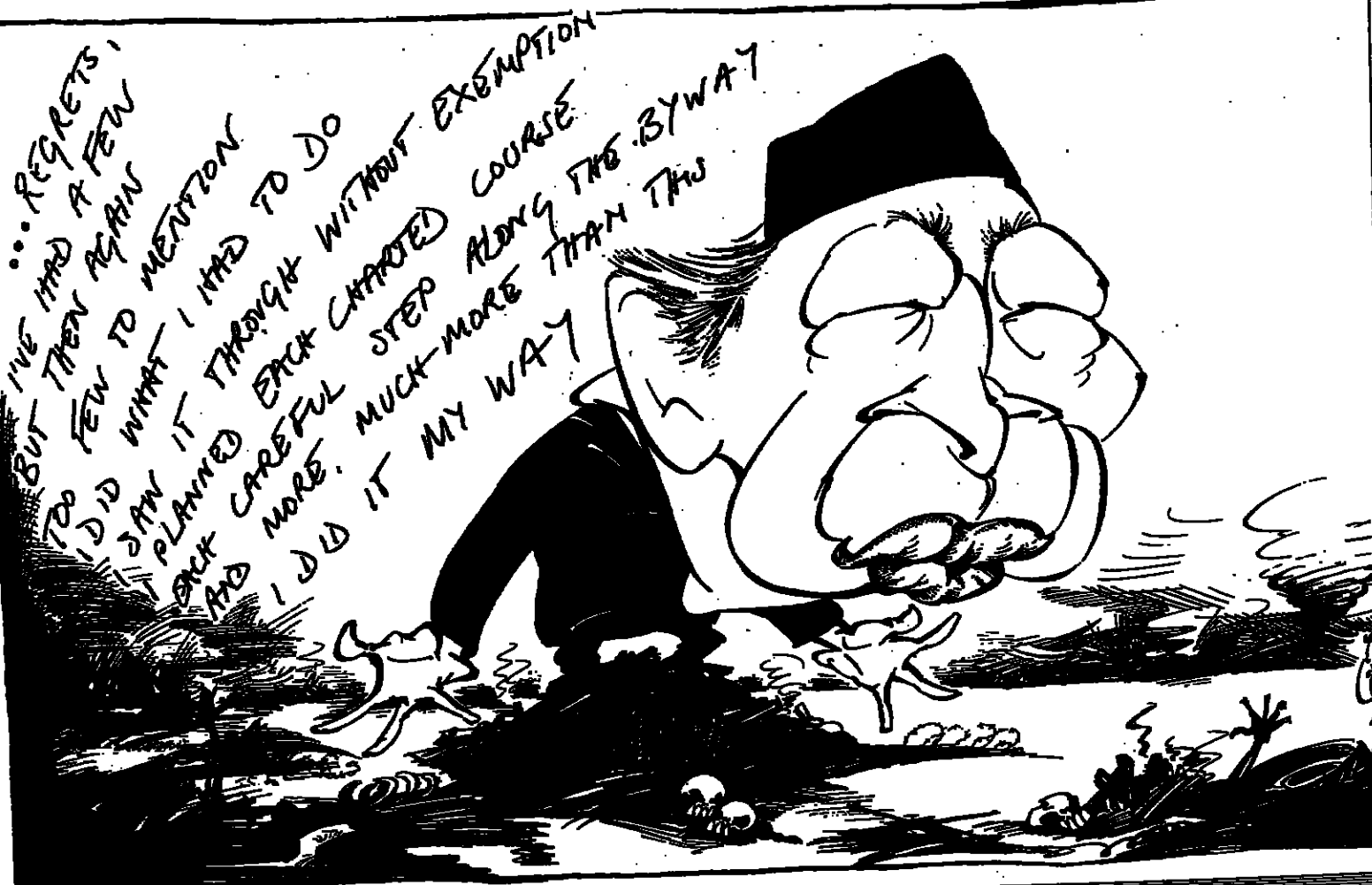
But the paranoia of the Islamic revolution lives on. To enter the parliament, or Majlis, a foreign journalist must undergo four successive security checks. At the last they took my watch and wallet, even my pen. Only transparent biro was allowed.

THE big difference about Iran in 1998 is that ordinary Iranians are answering back. Local visitors to the Majlis derided the Revolutionary Guards for their obsessive checks, and a few minutes later my belongings were apologetically returned.

The volunteer moral police who patrol scolding courting couples are also discovering they inspire more contempt than fear. The young couples are taking them to court for harassment.

Even Iran's intelligence agencies now struggle to get the respect they once assumed. One group called a Tehran translator and invited her to their room at the top of a Tehran hotel. They wanted to discuss the itinerary of the foreign journalist with whom she was working.

A few months before, she had immediately gone up to answer their questions. Now she told them: "I'll come to see you and tell you everything you want to know. Just as soon as you get yourselves a proper office." They never called back.



Monstrous thought! We must care for granny to inherit her money

Polly Toynbee



WHEN a royal commission is set up, you can bet there is a serious political problem. There are myriad working parties and task forces covering every important social issue, but Labour has set up only one royal commission: to look into the growing crisis in long term care of the old. The full majesty of a royal commission was promised in the manifesto to state the issue off until after the election. It will not report until December. But, when it does, it may be the first time Labour has to face the wrath of middle England red in tooth and claw.

All this blew up under the Tories, when families started to protest that, if an old parent went into a residential home, they had to pay for it by selling their now redundant house until they repaid had dwindled down to £16,000. Monstrous! It breached the inalienable right of children to inherit the wealth of the new home-owning democracy might not cascade down the generations after all.

But it is now clear that, when reports, those rules will not and cannot be significantly changed. People will still have to fund their own care if they have got the money or the house to pay for it. That will fly in the face of hundreds of letters pouring into the commission and the loud voices of those who speak up most vociferously at the commission's public meetings around the country.

Age Concern's helpline is flooded with calls on this issue, nearly all from the children, not the old people themselves. They ask how they can

avoid paying, and what are the legitimate ways parents can hand over their house before they go into care. "We absolutely do not give them that advice. We send them fact sheets on the legal transfer of assets and we try not to spend too much time talking to them," says one of Age Concern's telephone advisers. "Local authorities do have powers to get the assets back."

Age Concern thinks it right and fair that people should pay when they can. But the children protest that their parents paid their National Insurance. They scrimped and saved to buy a house to pass on but now their thrift is rewarded, leaving them no better off than the feckless who never saved a penny.

The commission will not find in their favour. With care costs rising by £500 million a year, the state will still affluence-test all those who can afford to contribute, and the government will have to stand its ground. Frank Field and others have been floating vague proposals for national or private insurance schemes to solve the problem for the future. But so far all the most convincing experts have told the commission it cannot be done and should not be tried.

This is the scale of the problem. Take someone aged 30 who might be persuaded or forced to insure for their care costs. The insurer has no idea what the average life expectancy will be in 30 years' time. People will live longer but will they live longer in need of care for longer? No one knows. Policies currently sold are expensive and offer such vaguely worded promises that companies could be accused of mis-selling them.

Andrew Dilnot of the Institute for Fiscal Studies says: "These policies are only for the seriously neurotic. No one else should consider it." What if the government tried to create a national fund people paid into? Again, no one would know what it would cover in 50 years. "In any case, the government always steals such funds. People don't trust government, so how are they to trust one of 12 governments from now?"

Nick Barr, an LSE welfare economist, also gave evidence to the commission last week, with the same conclusion. Care for the old can only be paid for out of current taxation, year by year as we go along, with some contribution from savings. Nothing else makes any sense. Field's third way on this was a chimera.

MOST people just do not have extra disposable income to save in their working lives. They spend on mortgages first and any extra goes into pensions — often not enough because they do not earn enough. Two-thirds of people now own their homes and the state will always have to pay for those who do not. But Labour will have to say that those with capital must regard it as the security that will pay for their old age, not primarily for inheritance. One commissioner told the commission crisply that, if children want to keep the money, they will have to care for their parents. Blair will have to say it is rights and responsibilities time for families.

But it is not as bad as it seems. Only one in six people ends up in a residential home, for an average of

two years at around £18,000 a year. Most people die quickly after a short illness. That means they still have a good chance of leaving their homes to their children. It is a lottery, but hardly a risk worth spending huge sums to insure yourself against. Nonetheless, there will be an outcry and Labour will be tagged again as the anti-inheritance party.

For Labour it means facing that, on the most important things, there just is no third way: not on education or health, nor on care for the elderly. The state will always have to provide it, and do it well. The commission will report that levels of care are often appalling. They have already visited some bad homes and heard horror stories of shambolic care, erratically provided by the untrained underpaid, with authorities charging unpredictable fees through confusing systems, varying all over the country. Nowhere is Frank Dobson's "Berlin Wall" between health and social security more chaotic than over the funding clash between local NHS and social services for the old.

People expect the standard of old-age care to match the quality of the rest of their lives — and it will continue to cost ever more money to provide residential homes that are unbearably to visit let alone live in. Nor will people tolerate schools and hospitals that fall far below their rising standards of living. The commission's report could be a watershed in how Labour masters, choosing who to back and where to fight. There would have been (though we didn't always realise it) a fundamental control system for crisis confection and management. Now all that has, simply, gone.

There's complete dislocation between the high-tech means of fighting our wars against enemies who don't exist and the targets we encounter. The means cost billions of dollars; the targets are raggedy men with machine guns and bad teeth who hate their neighbours.

High-tech weapons — let alone nuclear warheads — cannot dislodge Saddam. They couldn't defeat the Somali warlords. They were part of the losing of Afghanistan. The true question for Mr Vajpayee is whether the building of India's bomb adds one jot to his nation's security (as opposed to its national debt).

WAS on the spot for the last two wars: in 1965, and then for the liberation of Bangladesh. I remember the 1965 tally. To India, after three weeks of bloodshed, 720 square miles of Pakistani territory, including 150 miles of worthless desert around Gandra. To Pakistan: 1,617 square miles of Indian territory, including 1,200 of Rajasthan desert. Nobody won anything worth winning; nobody lost it. It was a futile contest, largely confined to set battlefields.

And so it would be in any replay. India doesn't have the power permanently to quell Kashmiri insurgency. What would it do with Pakistan if it happened to win and occupy its great cities? Is winning Kashmir anything but a recipe for

Big Bomb, big folly

Peter Preston



WE HAVE not thought — really thought — about the Bomb for 10 years. We have merely packed the platitudes of the Cold War in a convenient fridge and opened it from time to time. The stockpiles diminish, the balance remains. Big boys' games. Meanwhile, a pox on proliferation: no games for little boys. After India, though, none of that runs. A new world needs new thinking.

Birmingham, inevitably, could not supply it yesterday. The haves (or might haves) can lecture New Delhi till oblivion come and get nothing for their pained bluster. If France or Britain, say, still loves its nukes, there will always be proud and nationalistic nations on the way up who want them too. Why not, in principle? The arguments that Mr Vajpayee flourishes — "We have a big Bomb now" — are the arguments that Tony Blair has learned to embrace since he gave up on nuclear disarmament. Big bombs, big summits, heap big smiles for David Frost.

It would be more logical to dust down the old nostrums and welcome the fact that India and Pakistan can both blow each other to smithereens. Mutually assured destruction, remember, used to mean mutually assured peace. Since those two countries have fought three bloody, conventional wars in their half century of existence, the pall of such peace might be deemed good, not threatening.

In fact, however, the years since the Cold War have created a different context: one where the impotency of nuclear weapons, and of those who possess them, becomes clearer. Can the big boys with the bomb bring Saddam Hussein to heel, or Serbia to its knees? Are nukes the slightest use in Rwanda, Chechnya or Kosovo — indeed, in any of the crisis spots the Birmingham Eight might have liked to talk about? No: they are utterly useless. They have no relevance to the wars and upheavals that scar our planet.

Those wars — the ones that get the "world community" hopping — are small, vicious and local. They are people's wars, waged without pattern or patrons. Long ago and far away, Moscow and Washington would have been their puppet masters, choosing who to back and where to fight. There would have been (though we didn't always realise it) a fundamental control system for crisis confection and management. Now all that has, simply, gone.

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And so it would be in any replay. India doesn't have the power permanently to quell Kashmiri insurgency. What would it do with Pakistan if it happened to win and occupy its great cities? Is winning Kashmir anything but a recipe for

disaster? In just the same way, could either "big bomb" be deployed along narrow and hugely populated fronts where sudden winds might spread radioactive dust on the aggressor's own doorstep? Who in their senses would risk Bombay or Lahore?

Run back through the four wars India has fought. Would a nuclear bomb have helped in Kashmir in 1948? Around Ladakh in 1967? In Jammu or Sialkot in 1965? In securing Bangladesh's independence, with 80 million Bengalis up in arms? The bomb, in any of these circumstances, would have made no difference. It would have been, again, unusable. And if that was so then, it is so even more certainly now.

Mr Vajpayee is a fool if he believes otherwise. Indeed, at the margins, his adventure makes India a tad less rather than more secure. Modern, shrunken Pakistan is too small and poor for military adventurism. 1971 destroyed its hopes of re-conquest. An Islamabad bomb briefly clouds that brute perception.

What did Gandhi say? That "war is a delusion and a folly"? What did Nehru say? That war had become "monstrous and incredible" in its power and implications. They sought to build India on better foundations. The wars that followed them, the wars they could not stop, did nothing to alter the strength of their vision.

India does not need the bomb because it brings no practicality and no advantage with it. There is nothing Indians can do with it, apart from brag redundantly and pay. Pakistan is more impoverished still, so the burden of folly is greater there. Nehru and, to be fair, Jinnah wanted to build countries with their own unique history. In their current successors in New Delhi and Islamabad see that the bomb is a Western bomb and



India and Pakistan can do nothing with nuclear weapons except brag and pay

its possession the mindless spilling of Western examples? Was Werner Von Braun a Hindu god?

So we wring our hands and trot through the usual lamentations and options. The lamentations are phoney and unprincipled. The options — sanctions, stuff — will only make a bad scene worse.

The alternative way is the way we could have learned this past decade, if we'd been concentrating. The bomb doesn't make us safe, because it meets and confronts no matching threat. Useless, because there is nobody to use it against. Our foes carry different weapons and use other means. Shouldn't we admit as much? If we did, those elsewhere who seek the status of nuclear possession might pause themselves and ask where utility lies?

The irony this weekend is profound. Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif beat their chests and, in a ferment of islands to their south, Frankie Suharto falls at last to sing it his way. The high-tech arms he bought — and we sold — are worthless against his enemy within, the enemy of poverty and corruption and repression. Dislocation again. His armoury can't be used. It is part of the problem, not the solution.

India and Pakistan have precisely those enemies they themselves. Their tragedy is that they don't realise it. Our tragedy is that we have not thought to tell them.

Endpiece: Don't bother to vote

Roy Hattersley



AFTER 10 days of half-hearted analysis, the thinking classes have agreed that this year's municipal elections prove that local government must change or die. Sometimes those alternatives are offered more as a threat than a judgment. And there have been the predictable demands for modernisation from the people who, when the great meteorite strikes, will blame the end of the world on the failure to modernise the solar system.

More rational commentators have attributed polling

day apathy to the diminishing powers of councils and councillors. Why should anyone bother to walk to the voting booth when whichever candidate wins will have no authority worth exercising?

More than 30 years ago, when I was a Sheffield City Councillor, I represented half of Netherthorpe — the ward from which Mike Bower, the Labour group leader, was elected each May. There were special reasons for his defeat.

The Liberal Democrats are superbly successful in targeting individual seats, flooding them with campaign workers from unwinnable areas and exploiting every family grievance against the party which has borne the burden of office during the years of government cuts in public expenditure.

The Netherthorpe defeat tells us very little about the general standing and status of the system of local government. But my memories of the days when I lolled up Addy Street and along Crookesmore Road help to explain why the voters stayed away this year.

By the end of my time on the city council, I was chairman of the Housing Committee which was landlaid to almost half the city's families. We decided how much rent they paid, and how quickly their repairs were done. There were still shams in Sheffield in the early 1960s.

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Turks made nuisances of themselves, to end the 11+ "scholarship". And the Ministry of Education did not think of telling it how to do its job. It does now.

NOTES were also won and lost on water. What came out of Sheffield taps was sparkling and clean, but during the local election, the Labour group talked more about how it was stored than about how it was purified. The reservoirs in the Derwent Valley made the Peak District give the Austrians lakes an inferiority complex. They were owned by the citizens of Sheffield. So were the teacher training colleges, the buses and the ambulances. Back in the mid-1960s there was something worth voting for in municipal elections.

The men and women who, almost 40 years before, had seized power from the Conservatives, constantly complained that the councils were not what they used to be. On the glorious day when working men and women had taken control of the Town Hall, their "responsibilities"

— a favourite words amongst councillors still — included gas, hospitals and what was coyly called "local assistance", the remnant of the old poor law which dispensed outdoor relief. They complained, but they accepted that change came about for good reasons. I actually heard Alderman David Grace Tebbitt explain why it happened. "They wanted to bring the rest of the country up to Sheffield's level."

The changes that came about in the 1960s had less honourable intentions. Margaret Thatcher was not prepared to allow local government to be local. She was not prepared to allow Labour to implement Labour policies. So she took the power out of their hands.

The many councillors who are my friends may not forgive me for confessing my bewilderment. But I cannot understand why men and women of talent and commitment spend their time, neglect their families, sacrifice career prospects and spurn delights to live laborious days simply for the privilege of

being elected to councils with far too little to do. It does not surprise me in the slightest that fewer and fewer voters feel that it is worth missing the Bill or East-Enders for the privilege of deciding who does nothing very much.

There are all sorts of fancy theories about how the reputation of local government can be rehabilitated and the percentage poll increased. The voting system might be changed. Ballot boxes could be left in supermarkets. Mayors could personalise and glamorise city democracy.

PERHAPS some of the tricks will work. But, in the end, the town and county councils will only be treated with respect if they have the power to affect the lives of the people they represent. And that means that they must be given the right to behave in a way of which central government disapproves. It is called local democracy. And supporting it is one of the real tests of a genuinely democratic government.

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Summit for nothing G8 leaders let us down

THE annual meetings of the industrialised nations are part of a rudimentary system of governance for the planet. They allow the countries with the most money and economic capacity to try to reconcile interests, among themselves and between themselves and poorer countries, to co-ordinate policies at times of crisis, and, not least, to create a common rhetoric to project their agreements and to cover their differences. But the world is not an easy place to manage, as G8 leaders were no doubt reflecting even as they issued their sanguine communiqués in Birmingham this weekend. Two weeks ago, the agenda was clear enough. Firm, hopeful signals on the Asian economic crisis; a compromise on debt relief between those strongly in favour, like France and Britain, and those less interested, like Germany and Japan; an agreement to internationalise the Millennium Bug problem; some discussion of difficult countries, like Nigeria. That was be-

fore the Indonesian demonstrations' threatened Suharto's position and before the Indians set off their bombs.

Both the social explosions and the nuclear explosions can be seen as the result of a failure of the world's powerful countries to do what they should have done years ago. They should have called for reforms in Indonesia, which the G8 now rather shamefacedly recommend, when Suharto was strong — not now, when he is weak and no longer of any use to his previous friends, who include most of the countries represented in Birmingham. The nuclear powers among them should have moved more rapidly on nuclear disarmament so that countries like India would have less reason, or argument, for becoming nuclear weapons states. As it is, there is not much they can immediately do about either crisis. Indonesia will find its own way out of the Suharto era, and any reforms that matter will be for a new government to initiate. In South Asia, whether the Pakistanis can be persuaded not to test a bomb and the Indians to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty depends on the skill with which the United States and China handle the situation. Immediate collective sanctions against India, which it would have been possible to

adopt at Birmingham, would certainly have been counter-productive. Sadly, the Pakistanis, who knew full well that such sanctions were not on the cards, will almost certainly use their absence to justify testing. What is true of India and Indonesia — that preventative action was not taken — is true also of Asia's more general economic troubles. World financial institutions implicitly admit that the unwise borrowing and investment which led to the Asian economic crisis need not have happened when they talk now of measures to make sure it does not happen again.

The most important decisions are those that head off crisis in the future rather than cope with crisis when it is upon us. That is why the G8 decision on debt relief, which will affect the political and social conditions of many millions in poorer societies over the next generation, is so disappointing. The G8 should at least have matched the Mauritius Mandate in the aspiration to extend relief soon to two thirds of poor countries. Instead, it puts the emphasis on what poor countries have to do to earn debt relief, is fuzzy on help for post-conflict states, and commits members of the Group to no particular target. This argument is not over. But the G8 has missed an opportunity, at a time when the Indonesian and

Indian cases underline the principle that the most important quality in international politics is foresight.

Cold charity

Red Cross's great failure

THE INTERNATIONAL Red Cross has a global image of neutrality and compassion that is second to none. It is an angel of mercy operating with courage and fortitude on both sides of battlefields. So, it is with a stunned incomprehension that many people will read, in a book to be published this month, of the IRC's decision not to make any public statements about the Holocaust despite its unique knowledge of what had been going on in Hitler's concentration camps as far back as 1935. The organisation was faced with what it regarded as the society's Judgment of Solomon. It had to decide whether to speak out about the atrocities. To do so risked undermining not only its deep-rooted principles of neutrality, but also the Geneva Convention — thereby imperilling millions of military prisoners, on both sides, who were then in its care. At a crucial meeting in 1942, when evidence of Jewish deportations

was incontrovertible, the IRC's key committee was bulldozed into keeping quiet — even though most of the committee members had wanted some sort of action before the meeting had started. The new book's author, Caroline Moorhead, says it was the IRC's "greatest failure".

Would it have made any difference? More than 50 years on, she says that the consensus view today is that although nothing would have slowed down, let alone stopped, the deportation of the Jews, it was also highly likely that, had the IRC spoken out, its work on behalf of prisoners would not have been affected. The realpolitik of the situation was that the Germans needed the services of the Red Cross for prisoners of war and food parcels as much as the Allies did. And hardly anyone these days thinks that Germany would have retaliated by invading Switzerland (which paid 55 per cent of the IRC's budget and whose president sat on the IRC committee) whatever stand had been taken. In the end no calculus of probability can justify silence in the face of such unprecedented inhumanity. Better the Red Cross had risked its own extinction than kept silent in the face of a force so evil that it could have destroyed the moral and spiritual values on which it was founded.

Letters to the Editor

Standards rise and Viagra Falls

SURPRISING to read that, in 1922, the then Director of Public Prosecutions' condemnatory eye was focusing primarily on "pages 690 to 720" of *Ulysses* — Molly Bloom's cascading celebration of female sexuality (How they tried to kill off *Ulysses*, May 15). Earlier passages describing her husband's masturbatory ogling of a female minor are surely more deserving of severe censure. Or are my strident late 80s anti-pedophile sensibilities betraying me here? One thing is certain though: in the 20s our moral guardians at least gave some pretence of reading the material which they adjudged to be morally repugnant. Greig Aitken, London.

WHILE I agree with your correspondent (Letters, May 14) that prices in the British Library coffee bar are outrageous, I go there primarily to look at books rather than eat cake. In this respect, I was outraged at an announcement from the Library management that while they had said the new St Pancras Library would open five nights a week until 8pm, they have now decided that it will be only two — and we should be grateful for that. Let them eat cake I say. Mike Stewart, London.

COULD anyone explain why people who spend a lot of time gardening or collecting antiques are experts, but people who spend a lot of time train-spotting or surfing the net are nerds? And where is the dividing line — stamp collecting? Coarse fishing? Charles Eklund, Wakefield.

MATTHEW Engel suspects (Something smells, May 16) that there is some noxious substance in wine that is rarely mentioned by wine writers and experts. He is right. It's called alcohol. Jane Robinson, London.

WHAT do you call the symptom when the effect of the new impotence drug wears off? Viagra Falls. Dr Peter Rowland, London.

They just never learn

YOU report (Citizenship may nudge history off the curriculum, May 15) that our review of the curriculum will nudge French, history and technology off the curriculum. It will not. I have made clear that the review will lead to minimum disruption. We have already indicated the importance of the three Rs in primary schools and our wish to have a more focused approach to life skills and citizenship in schools. However, none of this means that other subjects will be sacrificed, and subjects like history, music and geography remain compulsory in primary schools. David Blunkett, Secretary of State for Education and Employment, Westminster.

COMPULSORY schooling and curricula based on the three Rs will only lead to more illiteracy, truancy and anti-social behaviour. Stiffer punishment for criminals only leads to more crime. As A S Neill makes clear in *That Dreadful School*, if you want results, make schooling non-compulsory and reward criminals. Ian Wild, Enniskenne, County Cork, Ireland.

DECCA Aitkenhead gets to the heart of the matter: both Tory and Labour government reforms have completely ignored the views of pupils when legislating on education (How children can discover that school is cool, May 15). Schooling (I don't think what

goes on now actually fits the proper definition of education: the new narrower than since the end of the last century.

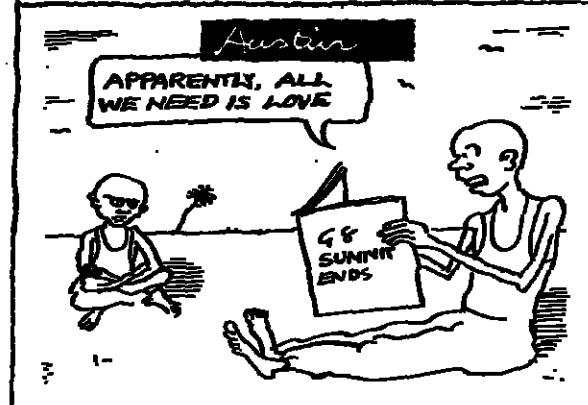
The effect of this is to increase the disaffection and disenchantment in our schools. The most visible form of this is in truancy and exclusions, but for every one of those pupils there are probably five more who are physically in the classroom but have mentally switched off.

After 23 years in the inner-city state primary sector, I see colleagues who have been de-skilled and demotivated. The joy of teaching has been replaced by "delivering the curriculum": creativity and innovation are discouraged. The curriculum is a narrow one, meant that teachers have little time for the theatre, concerts or continuing education that they used to pass on to pupils. I am convinced that we will soon be hearing about a national crisis in imagination. International comparisons will show that we lack skills of independent thinking, creativity and innovation and we will wonder why the shadow of the policeman looms over our classrooms. Martina Francis, London.

DECCA Aitkenhead makes the same basic error as the progressive movement in assuming that school is worth rescuing. Progressives seem to believe there is a gentle, kindly way to manipulate children to do their will, whereas regressives rely on coercion.

School is not a good idea gone bad, but a foolish idea from the start. It is a foolish idea to set up an institution that is set apart from real life in which young people are supposed to "prepare" for living. We could use the resources being devoted to keeping an obsolete institution alive to create the next learning system: family-centred education. Home-schoolers in a variety of countries out-perform schools by two years on average, and up to 10 years in some cases. Roland Meighan, Nottingham.

WHAT a pity your library has finally got a copy of the excellent Milesworth's *Modest and Pious* (see review, May 15). I quote: "Boring" (adj): does not whiz, buzz, screech, sloop or explode; lacking a picture of the Spice Girls; requiring an attention span superior to that of the average goldfish; requiring minimal effort; anything that is boring is boring. However, let's face it... If you arranged the Second Coming or a Martian landing on the school playing field some kids would still say it was boring. Sadly, at times, acquiring certain skills and information requires an element of sheer boredom. I am not a slog but that's so boring. Peter Flint, Doncaster.



Jakarta: the burning issues

AS SOMEONE who lived the best part of a decade in Indonesia (Countdown begins to Suharto exit, May 16), and in the wake of the G8 summit here in Birmingham, I have three questions for the leaders of the Free World:

1. Now the excrement has finally hit the air-conditioning in Jakarta, "President Suharto's government" is miraculously transformed into "General Suharto's dictatorship regime". Why are our own rulers (and media) so reluctant to use this kind of language when poor Indonesians were being thrown off their land to make way for the Suharto family's office blocks, toll roads, shopping malls, and golf courses (and which they are now burning down)?
2. Could it be because Western companies benefited so handsomely from the business thus generated?
3. When will we realise that a global free market is fundamentally incompatible with an ethical foreign policy? Robert Holland, Birmingham.

THURSDAY night's TV coverage of the rioting in Indonesia showed several times what appeared to be a British-made Scorpion tank being used against the protesters. If this can be confirmed, will this paper pursue the matter with those who have claimed for years that the British government never authorised the sale of weapons to the Suharto regime for internal repression? John O'Dwyer, Houston Regis, Beds.

We do not publish letters where only an e-mail address is supplied; please include a full postal address. We may edit letters shorter ones more likely to appear. The Country Diary is on Page 10.

Africa wants an amnesty from human rights groups

CLARE Short is to be congratulated for opening up an important debate on human rights (Short attacks Amnesty 'carping', May 15). Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and other groups, both international and local, have certainly saved the lives of political prisoners all over the world, many of them in Africa. But these organisations are increasingly seen in Africa as either treacherous or a negative force. They came of age in the seventies while campaigning for high-profile political de-

tainees in the USSR and eastern Europe. Their mindset and their agenda has been shaped by the politics of the cold war. Their narrow focus on the political rights of elites makes it impossible for them to mobilise citizens to improve the quality of their lives, a fundamental impediment to the enjoyment of civil and political rights. In addition, their simplistic approach deprives them of the opportunity to make a meaningful contribution to the worst catastrophes, such as Angola, Rwanda and Ethiopia.

Internationally, their refusal to address economic and social issues has polarised the debate about human rights, making it easier for dictators to argue that the human rights discourse is a Western imposition in the developing world. Finally, as Clare Short rightly pointed out, the attempt to appear "neutral" by condemning "both sides" is an absurdity where one side is clearly so much worse. Dr Tayeenda Abdul-Raheem, General Secretary, Pan African Movement and two others.

Sick of saying sorry

WHILE I condemn the acts that the Japanese military committed against humanity, the A-Class war criminals were prosecuted under the Tokyo Trial of 1946, and the war was overruled and paid in the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1947 (Japan paid Britons less than other war victims, May 15). Why attach blame to those born after the second world war or those who were children during it? Emperor Akihito was only seven when Japan entered the War and it was neither his decision nor

request to be given this Order of the Garter. Has Great Britain ever apologised or offered compensation for the Opium war? C K Uekawa, University of Brighton.

DURING her recent tour of India, not one of the victims of Japanese atrocities came forward to demand the Queen apologise to the relatives of the victims of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in Amritsar. S Jalandhriwala, Mumbai, India.

Debt campaign brings it all home: we need to localise

TONY Blair misses the point when he insists that economic globalisation is inevitable and desirable (Tony Blair interview, May 15). That is one of the primary causes of the debt problem. Welfare reform too has little to do with getting people off benefit into non-existent jobs, but everything to do with seeking to create the optimum conditions for the globalisation process, and supporting the power of transnational companies through the Multilateral Agreement on Investment.

Less than 50 per cent of the UK workforce have full-time, permanent, secure jobs. Meaningful, socially useful, jobs have vanished as a result of cuts to the public services. The jobs that are being created are McJobs, that nobody wants to do, and produce nothing of any value.

TONY Blair's Third Way is rampant capitalism with lipstick on. The agenda of many of those supporting Jubilee 2000 is about localisation rather than globalisation, and the gradual emergence of a post-capitalist era. Lyn Atterbury, Ilkerton, Derbyshire.

and consumption, to be healthy. However we live in a world of finite resources and all economies and all standards of life cannot rise indefinitely. Until we down-size our expectations of luxury and revise our economic models the world will continue to be grossly unjust and unfair to the poor. Alexandra Jones, Folkestone, Kent.

BIRMINGHAM this weekend was a delight. I was among the thousands forming a human chain demanding action from the G8 to debt cancellation. However, British taxpayers should not be called on to foot the bill in any way. Third World debt is a problem created by irresponsible bank lending. Since it was bank-created money in the first place, banks can just as easily write off the debt. Kevin Donnelly, Press Secretary, Christian Council for Monetary Justice, Manchester.

READ the week's articles about the plague of debt, the poor picking up the tab etc. I also saw headlines such as *£750m for the dome*; *People pocket £200m from building society windfalls*; *Two share £8.4m jackpot*; 21 per cent pay rise for bank boss etc. Nothing changes, and nothing ever will. Alan Smith, Devon.

As if there were no Gomorrah

David McKie

THE condemnation by an Israeli minister of Dana International's victory in the Eurovision song contest — "even in Sodom, there was nothing like it" — raises a delicate issue for moral philosophers which none of them, to my knowledge, has so far addressed. The minister, Rabbi Shlomo Ben-Zvi, seems to imply that the present Israeli state had here touched a depth of moral depravity

which even the original Sodites never reached. If true, this is very serious, since had even 10 righteous men been found in the city of Sodom, God would have spared it. It is now suggested that modern Israel has fewer than 102. This seems, prima facie, unjust. For a start, it overlooks the essential fact that the necessary technology did not exist when Sodom flourished. Women transformed into pillars of salt, certainly; but men into women? No way. Yet knowing what we do of Sodom's ways it seems more than likely that had it had surgeons equipped with appropriate skills and equipment, the place would have been teeming with women of six foot three who used to be men.

Maybe the rabbi had in mind also the circumstances in which this alleged nadir was reached: that is to say, the song contest. This too is unfair. Who are we to say that, if in possession of today's communications tech-

nology the Sodinites would have shunned participation in such international jousts? In any case, the fact that it's not recorded in Genesis by no means rules out the possibility that Sodom may have engaged in similar contests with the other four cities of the plain (Genesis, chapter 14) — Zoar, which was spared, and the three that were lost with Sodom: Admah, Zeboim, and of course Gomorrah.

The role of Gomorrah in this affair raises difficult issues too. Though the two towns are yoked together in the annals of infamy, Abraham's plea that Sodom might be spared if good men were found does not, according to Genesis, appear to have applied to Gomorrah. One can't help feeling that, whichever might have won their song contests, Sodom would always have prided itself on being in a different league from Gomorrah. "Isn't it interesting," Sodinites probably said to each other "that our town has got a whole vice

named after it, unlike poor old Gomorrah. You never hear of Gomorrahers, do you?" Perhaps Gomorrahans tried to fight back by boasting that people there pursued their particular vices as if there were no Gomorrah. Which very soon after, of course, there wasn't.

AND it must be admitted that every few places since Sodom have lent their name to a sexual malpractice (though remembering all those Handford Forums and Sturminster Marshalls and Ouseford Fitzelines and Wintborne Stricklands, it would not seem all that amiss to find a village in Dorset called Sexual Malpractice). I cannot think of any town in Britain which has given its name to a vice; such towns here as have acquired unique connotations are more often linked with a cake. Nor are there any Sodoms in Britain. There used to be a place in the Rhymney Valley which

was locally known as Sodom and Gomorrah, so much so that when the railways came and local officials were asked what to call a new station, they said "Sodom and Gomorrah". But this was overruled by wiser people in London who called it Pontytrun. (Or so I was told long ago in a very nice pub in Ystrad Mynach; but maybe it was just the Welsh pulling wool over London eyes.) There are one or two places whose names seem to hint at some kind of bawdy-panky: Iping (Hampshire) sounds like the kind of practice one would expect to find in Iping (both Norfolk). I see too that there's a village in Norfolk called Bawsey too, where presumably people have Bawsey ways; but no doubt the local council will now write to say it's a deep-dyed den of innocence. There isn't a Babylon — that other symbol of a city doomed by depravity — in

Britain either, though there is a Babel, near Llandovery. They should build a tower. It might do wonders for the tourist trade in mid-Wales. There is also Hyderabad, India, which a very old work by Dr Brewer of Phrasae and Fabian fame claims was known as the Sodom of India, "from the beauty of the country and the depravity of the inhabitants". Sodom and Gomorrah — are or their remains — are now, it is said, beneath the Dead Sea. Experts believe that the cause of their destruction was either an earthquake or some kind of effusion of gas and oil, not the Act of God described in Genesis — though perhaps the kind of Act of God cited by insurance companies declining to pay up on policies. The date of the conflagration, an encyclopedia tells me, was round about the year 2000 BC. Around, in other words, the start of a new millennium, though even the smartest talents in Sodom and Gomorrah couldn't have seen it that way.

SOLVE THE MYSTERY OF MAKING A WILL

It's elementary — send for your free guide today

Picture the scene, Watson. Her husband did not make a will. Quite why not is a mystery. He just hadn't got round to it.

In fact most people don't — I really haven't a clue why.

It is elementary and indeed vital to make a will. There were lots of complications for his poor wife, what with tax and so on. I do believe she'd have done away with him, if he hadn't been dead already...

Please tick relevant box(es) below and send to:
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Please send me my FREE copy of:
☐ Making your will ☐ Changing your will

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Please tick your choice(s):
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Royal National Institute for the Blind RNIB

Presiding over Fleet Street . . . Hugh Cudlipp, who shaped the Daily Mirror into a national institution

Publish and be praised

G8 fide



A

[illegible]

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

[illegible]

CHARLOTT
DENNY look

at the row
over the
Microsoft

monopoly.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

What does that mean?

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1990

Indicator
TODAY — CLOSING
TOMORROW —

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MARK COCKER

... ..



G8 fiddles while Jakarta burns

Larry Elliott

ANYBODY who wants to know why the Bank of England may yet put up interest rates should have been in Birmingham this weekend. The strong pound may be hurting the factories in the metal-bashing capital of Britain, but the bars and restaurants of the city centre are booming. This dualism — between the strong and the weak, between what you see and what you don't — is by no means confined to Brum. Take the whole G8 process, for example. The abiding visual image of the weekend was of Bill Clinton sitting on the balcony of a canal-side pub sipping a pint of Greenalms bitter. Nothing so memorable came out of the summit itself, which was the usual round of windy rhetoric, pre-cooked fudge and unspoken disagreements. To his credit, the Prime Minister has scaled down the size of the annual circus this year; were it not for the need for the photo opportunities, he could go one

stage further and conduct the whole affair over the Internet. Had he been pressed by his fellow drinkers in the Malt House, Mr Clinton would no doubt have said that the world economy is robust and fundamentally healthy. Again, he would have been half right. His own country is enjoying an industrial renaissance, while faster growth in the European economy is at last starting to make a dent — albeit small — in unemployment. Britain, on an optimistic assessment, has found the magic elixir of non-inflationary growth, free-market reforms will do the trick for Russia, and Japan's recession will end once the impact of the latest fiscal boost kicks in. Given time, all the stains on the global economy will come out in the wash, because, as Mr Clinton's predecessor, George Bush, once put it: "We know what works, free markets work."

But there is another way of looking at the current state of the world. Instead of taking the G8 — the West's most powerful economies — let's look at the P5 — the world's most populous nations. Starting in reverse order, we have Indonesia, a country of 200 million, which is apparently about to go up in flames. Economic collapse in Indonesia could push the fragile Japanese banking system — heavily exposed there — over the brink. And, if the crisis continues to have an ethnic dimension, with pogroms

against ethnic Chinese, can the West expect Beijing to stand idly by? It is not hard to see why the West feels slightly uneasy, even shame-faced, about what is happening in Indonesia. President Suharto has been in power more than 30 years, yet only now has the G8 decided he is actually a bit of a cad. That's a bit late for the people of East Timor, killed with weapons sold by the West. Then there is Russia, the subject of an experiment in shock-treatment free-market economics over the past 10 years. Normally, scientists testing new drugs try them out on small, carefully-selected samples; they would be wary of turning a fully-fledged nuclear power led by an ailing drunk into laboratory mice. The result is a third-world economy with the mafia in charge. America, the third most-populous country is doing better. Even its detractors would have to agree it has a first-world economy. They would add, however, that this is poised precariously on a third-world society.

Then we come to the Big Two. Nuclear proliferation in the Indian sub-continent seems unlikely to add to the stability of the global system. But India believes — rightly — that its voice is not being heard in such forums as the World Trade Organisation where, despite all the free-trade talk, mercantilist deals are stitched up between Washington and Brussels, then presented to other countries as a fait accompli. We shall see whether WTO ministers pay any more respect to the delegation from New Delhi now. Finally, of course, there is China, which has resisted a devaluation that would send tremors through the rest of Asia and beyond, but may not be able to do so for much longer. When you are a dictatorship governing more than a billion people you need to deliver the rising living standards that exported growth can bring to quell demands for greater political freedom. China is facing intense competition from those neighbouring countries which have seen their currencies depreciate by 50 per cent or more. It is not on the brink of a devaluation that could send shudders across the rest of Asia and beyond.

THE global economy is at a crossroads. The world may be on the verge of a long upswing to match that of the post-war golden era, with the full application of new technology leading to higher growth and increasing competition keeping inflation low. But it is also possible we could be on the brink of something much nastier: a full-scale global economic crash, triggered by Asia. Some will say a financial meltdown would be no bad thing. Devotees of Joseph

That elusive blueprint for debt relief

Debate
Joseph Stiglitz

TENS of billions of dollars in debt owed by developing countries is still hampering the drive for social and economic progress in the world's poorest countries. Governments are being forced to divert money away from development to servicing the interest only on their massive debts. Caught up in this endless cycle, even governments pursuing sound policies find their efforts to stimulate growth and reduce poverty undermined. Many people hoped the unprecedented reach of private capital might prove to be a market solution to the debt problem. But enormous capital flows have not benefited developing countries equally. Almost three-quarters of private capital to developing countries in the 1990s went to only 12, mostly middle-income countries.

For the poorest countries, the only way to break the inexorable cycle of financing debt at the expense of development is through international debt relief.

In 1996, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund launched the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative, or HIPC. Since its inception in 1996, six countries have been approved for HIPC relief of almost \$8 billion (\$3.7 billion). Debt service relief of \$650 million is already going to Uganda, and Bolivia and Guyana are also slated to receive money by the end of this year. Countries need a track record of good policy performance; the reason for such criteria is straightforward. An effective state infrastructure is vital for development. Debt relief and aid in general will not work in countries lacking a policy environment that nurtures social and economic growth. Giving debt relief to such countries would send the wrong signal — that bad management is rewarded. Without changing the policies that allowed debt to accumulate, debt relief may provide an incentive to incur new debts. Effective policies are the only way to guarantee the success of the HIPC initiative. Debt relief is a strong anti-poverty weapon, but it must be part of a broader development strategy. It is clear that debt relief alone cannot guarantee high living standards. All that is ready to galvanise the fight against poverty and help achieve their vision of social and economic development.

ment goals which include improving health and education, preserving natural resources, fostering civic participation and ensuring a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development. Achieving these goals will not be easy. There is no single blueprint for development. The Washington consensus, which prioritised lowering inflation and budget deficits, was appropriate for Latin America in the 1980s. Due to their success, many nations face new challenges. Liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation may sometimes be building blocks of a broader strategy for creating more vibrant markets, but we should not make the mistake of treating them as ends in themselves. Financial liberalisation by the wrong means can lead to financial crises; slower, not faster long-run growth; and less, not more, poverty reduction. Building a robust financial system is considerably more complex than lowering inflation targets. Debt relief can fund spending on social programmes, but they will produce results only in conjunction with effective policies. Crafting effective policies requires that governments in developing countries recognise the benefits of such policies and that they, not foreign lenders, are masters of their own policies' destiny. This need for government ownership of reforms dictates that the next consensus should begin at a national level, not in Washington or London. Developing countries must tailor strategies for social, economic and cultural circumstances. Governments are most effective when they respond to the needs and interests of those they serve. Reform efforts and development programmes built around a broad-based national consensus give citizens a stake in their government's policies. Under these circumstances, assistance — including debt relief — is highly effective. The World Bank and its partners in the development community play a pivotal role in supporting the reforms and programmes adopted by their member governments. Together, they have the responsibility to foster and invigorate debates on reform. But we cannot devise new development strategies where no national consensus exists. This means debt relief, and specifically the HIPC initiative, can only go as far as domestic policies in the poorest indebted countries will sanction it. On the other hand, for those countries capable of mobilising public acceptance of sound national policies, HIPC is ready to galvanise the fight against poverty and help achieve their vision of social and economic development.

Joseph Stiglitz is chief economist of the World Bank

CHARLOTTE DENNY looks at the row over the Microsoft 'monopoly'

Is Bill Gates a monopolist? It depends on whom you ask. A textbook monopoly is where one company makes all the products sold in a particular industry. Microsoft has a 95 per cent share of the personal computer operating system market. An economist would say what matters is whether Microsoft has market power. What does that mean? A monopolistic company can manipulate the market by selling products at uncompetitive prices to force rivals out of business. Another problem is that in the computer industry, dominance in one area can lead to dominance in another. Because most software has to be written to fit with the Windows operating system, Microsoft also has an advantage in the applications market — the programmes for word processing, spreadsheets or databases which actually make the computer do something useful. Microsoft Word is the most popular word processing programme by a long way.

Economics made easy

What's the latest fuss about Microsoft over? The US Justice Department is set to launch anti-trust action (the American term for anti-monopoly) against Mr Gates because it thinks Microsoft is using its dominance to gain control of the browser market, the application which allows users to access the World Wide Web. Windows 95, the latest version of Microsoft's operating system will have a built-in browser. Critics say this will disadvantage Netscape, Microsoft's main rival in the browser market. Does it matter? Microsoft insists that it is successful because it makes products customers like and shouldn't be penalised for that. One of the interesting things about the software industry is that it is an advantage to have a dominant system. If I use Microsoft Word, it helps me when other people use it because I can switch files with them easily. Economists call this a "network externality".

And on the other hand? Critics say that while it is an advantage to have operating systems and applications built to the same specifications, one company shouldn't own the standard. They say Microsoft should be made to reveal the computer coding behind its operating system so other companies can compete with them on a level playing field. But the applications programmes in the Department of Justice likely to make them open up the source code? Not very. At one estimate this would halve Microsoft's income, and nobody wants to kill off one of the hi-tech success stories behind the US economic boom. It would also be reluctant to set a precedent by effectively nationalising Microsoft's intellectual property. So Microsoft will go on getting bigger? Until the next big development comes along. Unlike other industries which tend to end up dominated by big companies, it doesn't cost a lot to start up a new venture. Apple was started up in a garage in California while Netscape, Microsoft's big rival in the browser market, grew out of nowhere with the burgeoning of the Internet. The next big idea is probably being hatched by some bright graduate right now. Microsoft knows this which is why they are so keen to buy up other people's ideas. But the Department of Justice would view unfavourably any predatory buying expeditions.

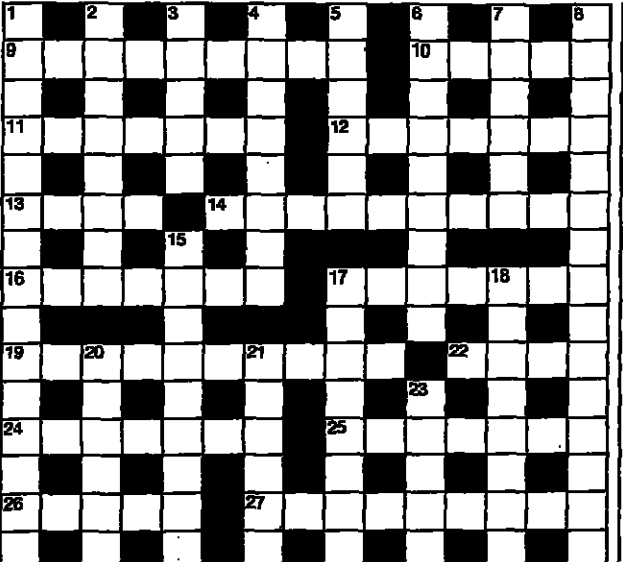
Unsalted prawns in the corporate game

Worm's eye
Dan Atkinson

In terms of unbridled individualism and the heady air of freedom, the week just gone was a corker. Hardly had we learned of a gigantic, new public terror campaign to stop us all eating salt than news broke of another to strengthen the mothers of Britain. It was a week of salt and pepper, of life itself. Yes, quite a week for the liberalised, sovereign individual. In fact, anyone looking for freedom would have been better advised to be a corporate executive than to be an ordinary citizen. The miserable G8 summit was, as usual, Liberty Hall as far as international big business was concerned, with the assorted front-men, sorry world leaders, reaffirming

the primacy of free capital movement, free trade and sound money, all to a chorus of "All You Need is Love. Throw up! Who wouldn't?" It would be nice to think that whoever selected that Beatles hit was being mischievous. After all, the Summer of Love marked the high point of the post-war strategy which combined strict control of capital with a free-wheeling attitude to personal behaviour. But 30 years on, this formula has been stood on its head. The damage wreaked by capital in the Far East is cited as evidence that capital has been insufficiently liberated, while the ordinary citizen braces himself for random salt tests and the next attack on the "cost base" (his job). The secret history of this 180-degree turnaround in public policy is well detailed in a new book, *Pravda* by Robin Ramsey (Vision: £9.99). Big Finance and its allies spent nearly 40 years pursuing their goal of the restoration of laissez-faire in Britain and the asset-stripping of the British economy. Wise as serpents, they treated every setback as temporary and every advance as permanent, and taught the rest of us to think the same way. Ramsey notes that none of the facts in the book difficult to unearth, it is simply that no one had put them together this way before. But that's the hallmark of the best conspiracy. It looks like something else.

Guardian Crossword No 21,277 Set by Rufus



- Across**
- A case for cultural development (9)
 - Are about to perform worship (5)
 - She's seen spinning round at a rink (7)
 - Know what was expected (7)
 - Role reversal can let an actor down (4)
 - Learn a craft? He's bound to (10)
 - Arranged, but not voluntary (7)
 - Get rid of players on strike (4,3)
 - Extra space may be measurable (10)
 - Small yet troublesome inflammation (4)
 - Stinging bill is returned and is cut, perhaps (7)
- Down**
- Ends interim arrangements (7)
 - Fantastic to be out and about (5)
 - Stand by ascetic (9)
 - Persistent parking offender at the station (8,9)
 - Not the only part of the UK wanting tax to come down (5)
 - Stirring up a gathering (5)
 - Bound to be short of cash (8)
 - Quietly mention favour (5)
 - Frequent praise not unusual (5)
 - Carbon said to contain growth of small trees (5)
 - Where there's space for readers to use their imagination (7,3,5)
 - Girls that are darker — from better sun? (5)

WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 21,276

This week's winners of the Guardian English Dictionary are S J Best of Carlton, Nottingham, TP Heston of Otley, West Yorkshire, A R & H Watch of Glasgow, Liz Stewart & Al Tennant of Solihull, West Midlands, and Steve Elliot of London E3. Please allow 28 days for delivery.

Solution tomorrow

28 Stuck? Then call our solutions line on 0800 336 228. Calls cost 50p per minute at all times. Service supplied by ATS.

NEWSPAPERS SUPPORT

Recycled paper made up 41.4% of the new Guardian in the first half of 1997.

ADVERT

Indicators

TODAY — GIER: IFO Business Index (Apr.)
TOMORROW — UK: Public Sector Borrowing Requirement (Mar.)
UK: Retail Prices (Apr.)
UK: Finance Ministers' Meeting.
UK: FOMC Meeting.

THURSDAY — UK: Retail Sales (Apr.)
UK: Provisional M4 (Apr.)
UK: Federal Budget (Apr.)
UK: Minutes of FOMC Meeting.
FRIDAY — UK: GDP Expenditure (Q1).
UK: Public Holiday (Except UK).
UK: Public Holiday (Except UK).
Source: HSBC Greenwell.

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 2.547	Germany 2.834	Malaysia 6.29	Singapore 2.61
Austria 19.61	Greece 483.62	Malta 0.42	South Africa 8.08
Belgium 58.38	Hong Kong 12.30	Netherlands 3.1785	Spain 238.20
Canada 2.308	India 68.09	New Zealand 2.96	Sweden 12.33
Cyprus 0.83	Ireland 1.1220	Norway 11.88	Switzerland 2.35
Denmark 10.84	Israel 5.98	Portugal 259.57	Turkey 395.20
Finland 8.887	Italy 2.611	Saudi Arabia 6.02	USA 1.5957

France 9.47

JAMIE McDONALD

Falcons stoop to conquer

DAVID ROGER

Kirsten has his fill at the picnic

A black and white photograph showing a large crowd of people gathered in front of a large, dark building with a gabled roof. The building has several windows and a central entrance. A tall flagpole stands to the right of the building. The crowd is dense, filling the foreground and middle ground. In the background, there are large, leafy trees. The overall scene suggests a significant public event or gathering.

PHOTOGRAPH: BEN RADFORD

Maddy is called into action

صبرنا من الاله

PARTING SHOT

Lazy Sunday afternoon... the LUC team make a fiery entry into Azzurra's territory during yesterday's Doffey Cup final at Cowdray Park Polo Club in West Sussex. Azzurra won 6-4. The Doffey Cup final will be staged at the club next Sunday.

Photograph by Tom Jenkins



No overnight cure for xenophobia

SCREEN BREAK

Andy Beckett

CHANNEL 4 broadcast a programme about German football last Tuesday. It went out the day before the Press Complaints Commission warned newspapers not to "cause trouble" by being xenophobic during the World Cup, and the opening presenter of this episode of Planet Football was propped up beside a swimming pool with a Union Jack umbrella. Wearing a second world war tin helmet. Behind prickly bushes of barbed wire. Holding the 1996 edition of the Daily Mirror with the headline Achtung Surrender.

"When it comes to football," he said, "we are thoroughly encouraged to hate the bastards."

Over on Carlton, they too were being tactful. Halfway through *We Won the Cup*, a fund and warming wailor about 1996, England's West German opponents were introduced as "a formidable enemy". Then a half-German family from Stamford Hill described how they had divided their television room during the final into "camps". And a red-faced man remembered something about the crowd at Wembley that day: lots were wearing their regimental ties.

Yet both programmes, for all their front and bluster, trembled with English footballing fears, now terribly familiar, about the hard-to-beat Hun. There was the dubious free-kick from which the Germans always score via a deflection, first in evidence in the last minute of normal time in 1996: the unjustified luck, such as Oliver Bierhoff's winner in the Euro 96 final, curling off the Czech goalkeeper's hand on to the inside of the post, and, most galling of all, the suggestion of an international conspiracy in the Germans' favour: Germany have never had to play Brazil, the only team consistently better, on a competitive occasion.

All this was dwelled on. The famous England defeats from 1970, 1990 and 1996 were shown again, Peter Bonetti, unnecessarily, described the 1970 dressing-room as being "like a morgue". Every misadventure was replayed, twice. And more than clear, were in an S & M relationship. And no prizes for guessing who was the dominant partner.

Planet Football was particularly impressed by the muscle of German football. The programme showed several scenes of players training: always in the snow, never rushing at it, stocky men in their early thirties who had seen the odd tournament. Before the 1990 World Cup, it was respectfully noted, the German team practised "thunder" of penalties, in the semi-final, when it came down

to that, England had not even decided which players were going to have a go.

But a while in last Wednesday night's European Cup Winners' Cup final, Stuttgart seemed to be teaching Chelsea the old lesson. The Germans, without any obvious stars, threaded the ball neatly, waiting for the English team to miss a stitch. When Chelsea won possession, they excitedly scuffed their shots. On BBC1, the commentators blamed the pitch: west London's finest kept getting "a bad lie".

Then, of course, Chelsea scored. With a sliver of the game left, Stuttgart's patience became a weakness—they could not muster the kind of barrage you get, in the final minutes, of every close match in the FA Cup. And at the end, when the score was an immovable 1-0, usually the victory trademark of German teams, the mind did go back to a seg-

A red-faced man remembered the crowd at Wembley in 1966: lots were wearing their regimental ties

ment on Planet Football the evening before.

It showed a recent Germany-Brazil friendly. Brazil had won, as they usually do—further fuel for the World Cup extortion conspiracy theory. But it was the manner of the German defeat which caught the eye. Their defenders looked like statues. Michael Owen, as Ronaldo did, would skip past their pedestals. Except Owen will not leave the Brazilian midfield strapping him the ball.

On Planet Football, Chris Waddle, who knows a little about England-Germany matches, was less than optimistic. "The Germans haven't lost a competitive game against us since 1974," he said. "But one day..."

Followers of English cricket know the feeling. Each summer brings a tutorial in national inadequacy; each spring brings happy amnesia. Last Thursday the next tormentors warmed up when South Africa opened their tour against Worcestershire. There had been thunderstorms. The air was white with spittle and humidity. Unwieldy South Africa chose to bat.

They lost their best batsman for two. After three quarters of an hour they had scored 10, the ball was swerving and dipping like a rogue firework and a stiff young man called Gerhardus Liebenberg was swishing at the wet air. But he settled his shoulders and waited for the English bowlers to err. They obliged. By the end he had squeezed out 88, South Africa 287 for four.

Such fair-free bloody-mindedness suggested a comparison. South Africa are becoming the Germany of Test cricket. It could be a long summer.

• Martin Kettle is *at large*

FOOTBALL

FA CUP

Final

Newcastle (1) 2

Overton 20

Amelia 68

TENNIS SCOTTISH CUP

Final

Hearts (1) 2

Adams 2 (pen)

Adams 20

Adams 68

FA TROPHY: Final

Southampton 1

Sheff Wed 0

Cor. C.1.

Foreign football

ITALY

Inter Milan 1

Juventus 0

AC Milan 1

Parma 0

AS Roma 1

Florence 0

Parma 1

AS Roma 0

Florence 1

Parma 0

AS Roma 1

Florence 0

Parma 1

AS Roma 0

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AS Roma 0

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Parma 0

AS Roma 1

Florence 0

WOMEN'S WORLD CUP FINAL

England 2

USA 1

USA 20

USA 68

RUSSIAN PREMIER LEAGUE

CSKA Moscow 1

Spartak Moscow 0

CSKA Moscow 20

Spartak Moscow 68

RUSSIAN PREMIER LEAGUE

CSKA Moscow 1

Spartak Moscow 0

CSKA Moscow 20

Spartak Moscow 68

RUSSIAN PREMIER LEAGUE

CSKA Moscow 1

Spartak Moscow 0

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CSKA Moscow 1

Spartak Moscow 0

CSKA Moscow 20

Racing

Aga seeks Ascot gold with Tajoun

Chris Hawkins

TAJOUN looked a live Ascot Gold Cup prospect for the Aga Khan when making it three out of three this season with victory in the Group Two Prix Vicomtesse Vigier at Longchamp yesterday.

Since being gelded Tajoun has gone from strength to strength — he won five out of six last season — and he looks this event over an extended mile and seven furlongs with ease. The two-and-a-half miles of the Gold Cup represents the supreme stamina test but trainer Alain de Royer Duple is keen on an Ascot challenge.

The British runners in yesterday's race made little impact with Windsor Castle finishing third and Book At Bedtime fourth in the field of six.

Loving Claim, fifth in the Epsom 1,000 Guineas behind Cape Verdi, finished runner-up in the Prix Saint-Alary to the Aga Khan filly Zaira unbeaten now in four.

In Rome, Michael Jarvis sprang a surprise when his Polar Prince, ridden by Philip Robinson, landed the Group One Premio Presidente Della Repubblica over a mile and a quarter.

Frankie Dettori's mount Annus Mirabilis started favourite, but finished second. The colt, who had made the running until caught close home by Polar Prince.

It has not been a scintillating season for Dettori so far and the victory of Cape Cross, the 20-1 stable neglected, in

Saturday's Locking Stakes at Newbury summed it up.

Cape Cross, ridden by Dettori, was in the race primarily to set the pace for Dettori's mount Kahal. The problem was that Kahal got tired more quickly than the pacemaker, who was clear three furlongs out and kept going to beat Potein by a neck.

Kahal finished fourth with Dettori commenting: "It's great for the Godolphin team. It's another Group One. Kahal got to the furlong pole cruising but then ran out of steam."

All credit to O'Donoghue, the 25-year-old Irish jockey attached to Ed Dunlop's stable. He seized the opportunity in his first Group One contest after being unable to believe his eyes when he looked round a furlong out.

"It was a shock when I took a look and found I was on my own. I realised they weren't going to get to me and I kicked again. It was fabulous."

Simon Crisford, racing manager to Godolphin, was shocked but not speechless and said: "Cape Cross only got in from Dubai on Sunday. He was in as a pacemaker but running on his merits as you saw."

"We fancied Kahal but from going as well as any two furlongs out he suddenly got tired. We might drop him back to seven furlongs."

Crisford had news of Godolphin's runners in the Irish Guineas next weekend — La Nuit Rose, third in the French Guineas, goes for the 1,000 on Saturday while Fa-Eq, winner of the Newmarket maiden, is



Cape of good hope... Cape Cross pulls off a shock victory in the Locking Stakes at Newbury. PHOTOGRAPH: JULIAN HERBERT

of a Newmarket maiden, is

prize if it were not the plan. King of Kings, bidding to be the first since Rodrigo de Triana in 1992 to do the Irish Guineas double, should have little more than an exercise canter to collect the prize, a gallop which should put him straight for the Vodafone Derby although thereby hangs another tale.

Whether King of Kings will stay a mile and a half is one query, another being whether his temperament would stand up to the Epsom preliminary.

One horse for whom that particular worry does not come into the equation any longer is Croco Rouge, the Prix Lupin winner, who will run instead in the French Derby.

Mutaman, trained by Alec Stewart, was well backed for the Derby over the weekend with Coral's, who cut him to 16-1 from 20-1 on the strength of a good gallop on Saturday.

The relevance of this will be tested tomorrow when he goes for the Tote Predominate.

Stakes at Goodwood — the last of the Derby trials.

Mutaman won two of his three races as juvenile, his first came in the Racing Post Trophy when he was third at Saratoga Springs, beaten just over a length.

In the Oaks, High And Low has been trimmed to 10-1 from 12's. She was a runaway winner of the Cheshire Oaks recently but the talking point of the race was whether Darryl Holland, her jockey, had caught the others napping.

Bath Jackpot card with form guide

TONY PALEY	TOP FORM
2.00 The Gambler	The Gambler
2.30 Dancin' Luv (nb)	With A Will
3.00 Fakie	Blue Gentian
3.30 Shalimar	Shalimar
4.00 Inca Tern	Inca Tern
4.30 Mister John	At Large
5.00 Longwick Lad	Baylis (nb)

Left-handed track of just over 13m with 41 run-in which rises all the way to the finish. Separate extension for races over 2m. 2m 50 to 100yds. Good going to Firm. A Donates bluffers. Draw: Low numbers best. Long distance travellers: Inca Tern (4.00), G. Brown, Suffolk, 157 miles; Success And Glory (3.30), H. C. C. Suffolk, 157 miles; Donkey (5.00), M. Pollock, Suffolk, 157 miles; Secret Saver (3.00), M. Skote, Suffolk, 157 miles. Seven day winners: None. Second day winners: None. 2.00 CHEW VALLEY MEDIAN AUCTION MAIDEN STAKES 3YO 1m 5yds £2,444 (15 declared)

101 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	101
102 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	102
103 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	103
104 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	104
105 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	105
106 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	106
107 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	107
108 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	108
109 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	109
110 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	110
111 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	111
112 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	112
113 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	113
114 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	114
115 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	115

2.30 STARTERS' HANDICAP 1m 5yds £2,018 (18 declared)

201 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	201
202 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	202
203 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	203
204 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	204
205 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	205
206 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	206
207 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	207
208 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	208
209 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	209
210 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	210

Southwell (A.W.)

TONY PALEY	TOP FORM
2.15 Other Club	Law Dancer
2.45 Other Club	Law Dancer
3.15 Field Of Vision	Field Of Vision
3.45 Dancin' Luv	Dancin' Luv
4.15 Dancin' Luv	Dancin' Luv
4.45 Dancin' Luv	Dancin' Luv
5.15 Dancin' Luv	Dancin' Luv

At-wearers, fibrous, left-handed track of 11m with 31 run-in. Separate extension for races over 2m. 2m 50 to 100yds. Good going to Firm. A Donates bluffers. Draw: High numbers best in 4.15, low number otherwise. Long distance travellers: W. Turner's horse, 189 miles. Seven day winners: None. Second day winners: None. 2.15 LONDON HANDICAP STAKES 1m 5yds £2,070 (16 declared)

113	34005 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	113
114	34006 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	114
115	34007 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	115
116	34008 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	116
117	34009 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	117
118	34010 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	118
119	34011 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	119
120	34012 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	120
121	34013 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	121
122	34014 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	122
123	34015 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	123
124	34016 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	124
125	34017 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	125
126	34018 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	126
127	34019 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	127
128	34020 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	128
129	34021 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	129
130	34022 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	130
131	34023 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	131
132	34024 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	132
133	34025 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	133
134	34026 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	134
135	34027 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	135
136	34028 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	136
137	34029 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	137
138	34030 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	138
139	34031 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	139
140	34032 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	140
141	34033 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	141
142	34034 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	142
143	34035 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	143
144	34036 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	144
145	34037 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	145
146	34038 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	146
147	34039 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	147
148	34040 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	148
149	34041 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	149
150	34042 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	150

2.45 LIVERPOOL HANDICAP STAKES 1m 5yds £2,070 (16 declared)

113	34005 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	113
114	34006 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	114
115	34007 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	115
116	34008 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	116
117	34009 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	117
118	34010 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	118
119	34011 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	119
120	34012 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	120
121	34013 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	121
122	34014 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	122
123	34015 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	123
124	34016 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	124
125	34017 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	125
126	34018 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	126
127	34019 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	127
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129	34021 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	129
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132	34024 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	132
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145	34037 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	145
146	34038 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	146
147	34039 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	147
148	34040 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	148
149	34041 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	149
150	34042 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	150

3.15 BIRMINGHAM HANDICAP 1m 5yds £2,070 (16 declared)

113	34005 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	113
114	34006 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	114
115	34007 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	115
116	34008 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	116
117	34009 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	117
118	34010 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	118
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141	34033 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	141
142	34034 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	142
143	34035 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	143
144	34036 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	144
145	34037 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	145
146	34038 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	146
147	34039 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	147
148	34040 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	148
149	34041 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	149
150	34042 Swan Island (20) W. Brown	A. McArthur	150

201 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	201
202 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	202
203 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	203
204 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	204
205 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	205
206 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	206
207 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	207
208 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	208
209 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	209
210 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	210

3.00 NORTON & BROOKSBANK NOVICE STAKES 3YO 1m 2f 4yds £2,534 (5 declared)

101 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	101
102 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	102
103 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	103
104 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	104
105 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	105
106 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	106
107 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	107
108 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	108
109 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	109
110 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	110
111 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	111
112 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	112
113 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	113
114 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	114
115 (4)	S. Carter (20) A. Brown 9-0	W. Brown	115

3.30 TOTTENHAM HANDICAP (SHOWCASE RACE) 1m 5yds £2,535 (5 declared)

485 (1)	Shawnee (20) S. Carter 9-0	W. Brown	485
486 (2)	Shawnee (20) S. Carter 9-0	W. Brown	486
487 (2)	Shawnee (20) S. Carter 9-0	W. Brown	487
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Adam's army
Six changes in
England's squad
for the Oval
12



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The Guardian Sport

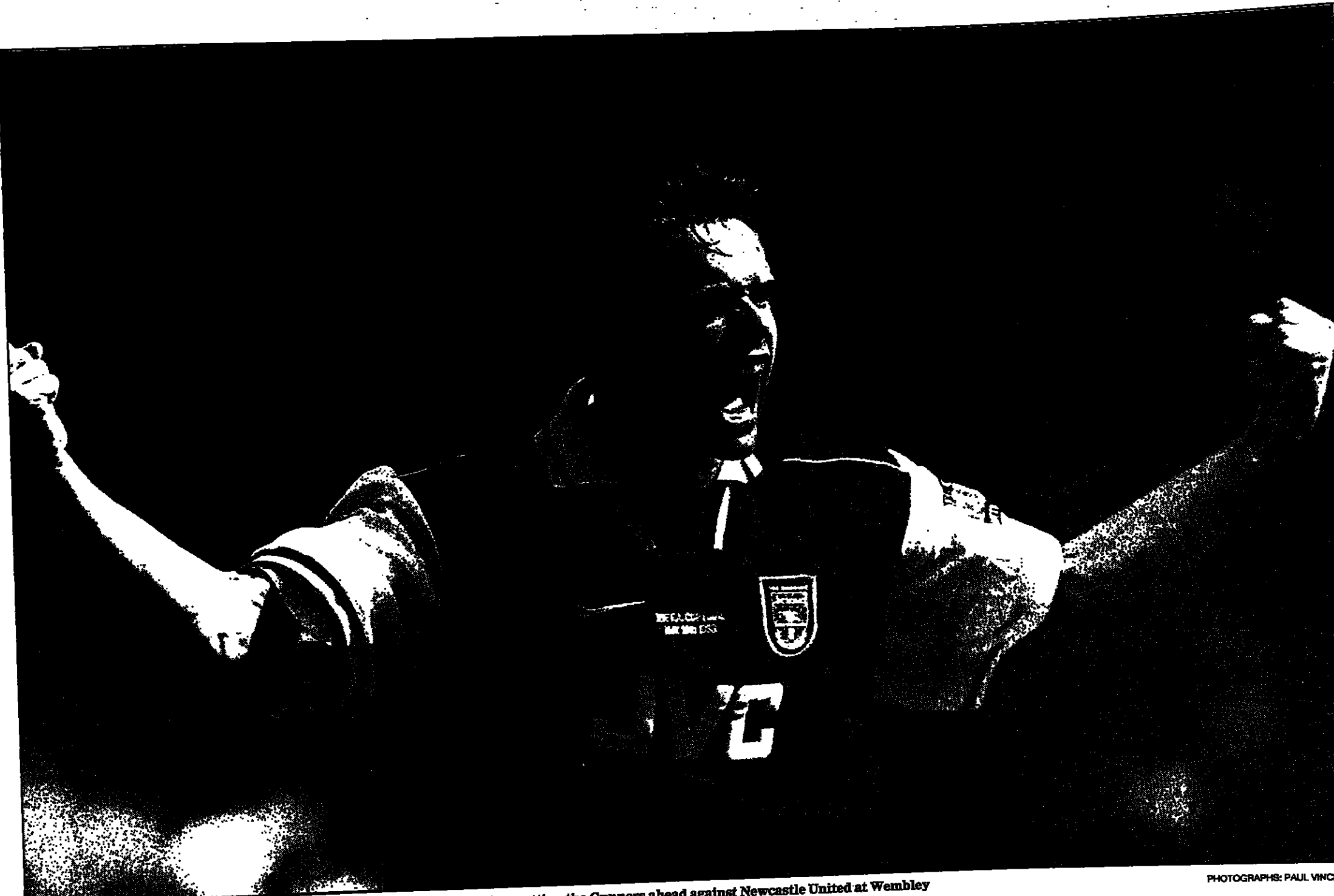
Monday May 18 1998

www.football.guardian.co.uk

Wenger's Gunners earn Double distinction

FA Cup final: Arsenal 2 Newcastle United 0

Parlour-made success



Red-hot Dutch delight... Arsenal's winger Marc Overmars celebrates after putting the Gunners ahead against Newcastle United at Wembley

Shearer stifled as Dalglish's safety-first approach fails

David Lacey at Wembley sees champions outpace Newcastle

THIS time the FA Cup followed the league championship to Highbury at the double. There have been more distinguished Wembley triumphs but it is hard to remember a final being won with the sheer pace of Arsenal's victory over Newcastle on Saturday, or a success that owed so much to the contribution of a single player, in this case Ray Parlour.

Unless Glenn Hoddle changes his mind Parlour will not make even the outer fringes of the England World Cup squad. To the uninitiated, after this performance, the Arsenal man's plans will be as deep a mystery as the continued involvement in

them of Newcastle's Robert Lee. Like David Batty, another England medium-pacer, Lee put in 90 minutes of honest toil on a stifling afternoon but apart from Batty ruffling Patrick Vieira early on with a jarring tackle there was little to halt Arsenal's progress to a second Double. Parlour became the dominating influence as Newcastle's midfield was increasingly outflanked and outrun. It had Speed but no pace.

The goals said it all. Marc Overmars, released by a scoop from Emmanuel Petit, outstripped Alessandro Pistone for the first after 23 minutes; Nicolas Anelka, set up by Parlour's pass, outran Steve Howey for the second after 68.

Towards the end, as Kenny Dalglish's heavy-legged Newcastle players were reduced to going through the motions, their supporters managed a chorus of the Blaydon Races. But those were on the ninth of June. Dalglish's team turned up on the 10th to find the course empty, the horses gone. English football's eighth Double, and its fourth in 13 years, had never been in serious doubt. Realistically the only points at issue were whether Arsène Wenger's side could reproduce at Wembley the quality of football which had accompanied their surge to the title and, if so,



The captain's mate... Arsenal's manager Arsène Wenger congratulates Tony Adams

what fresh means Newcastle could find to stop them. The answer was that, given the opposition's manifold limitations, Arsenal played only as well as they needed to in the first half, particularly in the first half, when their passing became uncharacteristically slipshod and, though Anelka coped well enough without the assistance of the unfit Dennis Bergkamp, the spectacle would have benefited from the Dutchman's cultured presence.

Wenger, already assured of a place in English football history by becoming the first foreign manager to take a team to the championship, now has

a bar to go with his distinguished service medal. A long and lucrative contract at Highbury should now be his for the taking, the Champions League less so. It is 12 years since Dalglish helped Liverpool beat Everton in the FA Cup final to secure the Double as a player-manager. A week earlier he had scored the goal at Chelsea which returned the league championship to Anfield from Goodison. How far away all this seemed as a Newcastle side short of the idiosyncratic but beguiling talents of Kevin Keegan's team trundled into action along predictable lines, like teams caught up in a Formula One race.

Though the performance was nowhere near as abject as the supreme response of Joe Harvey's team to Liverpool's bewildering patterns of passing and movement in the 1974 final, Newcastle's followers went home feeling more disgruntled than ever. The manager's insistence that "we went into the game in a very positive frame of mind" will have done little to console them. Dalglish's success in management at Liverpool and Blackburn is a matter of record but the further his playing days fall behind him the more cautious he becomes. Pistone and Warren Barton were supposed to gang up on

Overmars, but the opening goal destroyed that plan. Meanwhile the ease with which Parlour continually sped past Stuart Pearce became an embarrassment. Yet Newcastle did not try to carry the game to Arsenal until the match was more than half over, and Dalglish's substitutions were mere afterthoughts.

The absence of an unfit Keith Gillespie condemned Alan Shearer to a Cup final without crosses. The England striker spent much of his time in lone and fruitless confrontations with Martin Keown and Tony Adams, getting himself cautioned for a late lunge on the latter at the end of the first half.

The one moment of pure Shearer came in the 68th minute, courtesy of Keown slipping on the ball. Shearer's speed of reaction was breathtaking as he moved across the defender before whipping a left-foot shot beyond the reach of David Seaman, only to see the ball cannon back off the inside of the far post.

Two minutes earlier Nicos Dabizas, Newcastle's Greek centre-back, had headed a free-kick from Lee against the Arsenal bar. Three minutes later Anelka put the outcome beyond whatever doubt might still have lingered on.

The course of the match might have been altered had Shearer's shot gone in. Six minutes from the end it took a marvellous interception by Nigel Winterburn to deny Shearer a point-blank chance after Temuri Ketsbaia's drive had ricocheted to him, but by then Newcastle's day was practically done.

They are, of course, in next season's Cup Winners' Cup as a result of Arsenal completing the Double, a bizarre twist to a defeatful season on Tyneside. The Toot Army doubting whether Dalglish's present team could beat a 40-year-old mother-of-three in an egg-and-spoon race. A poor start next season and his passive approach to this Cup final will surely return to haunt him.

Big Ron shown the door again

Keith Anderson

RON ATKINSON's second spell as manager of Sheffield Wednesday ended yesterday when he was discarded by the club, who finished 16th in the Premiership. Wednesday decided not to renew his contract, which expires next Sunday week, and said in a statement: "It is the intention to restructure the team management with a long-term development."

Danny Wilson, manager of just-relegated Barnsley and a former Wednesday player himself, and Leicester's Martin O'Neill, at the centre of speculation about a possible switch to Everton where Howard Kendall is currently in charge, were both linked with the vacancy last night.

Atkinson, 59, arrived at the club in November last year after David Pleat was sacked. He vowed to save Wednesday from the drop, a feat that looked beyond him at the time.

When he was first appointed in 1989 after spells with Atletico Madrid, West Bromwich and Manchester United, to name but three, he could not prevent relegation at the end of his first season. But in 1991 he guided the club to a 1-0 Rumbelows League Cup triumph over United.

He also won promotion back to the top flight that year but walked out in July to join Aston Villa. After Villa finished runners-up to Manchester United in 1993 he led them to Coca-Cola Cup victory over United in 1994, but eight defeats in nine league matches led to his sacking in November. The following year he took charge at Coventry before returning to Wednesday.

John Barnwell, chief executive of the Football League Managers' Association, said yesterday that Atkinson must be kept in the game because of his experience.

PHOTOGRAPHS: PAUL VINCENTE

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